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ABSTRACT

This paper results from a research project that investigated the problem of inter-ethnic relations between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, as they are bound together under the label, "Asian/Pacific Americans" (APA). A basic thesis is that by identifying these two groups with one label, significant cultural and socioeconomic differences are overlooked. This has led to problems in targeting specific populations who may require different types of social services, public involvement, and government aid. Adverse consequences, it is asserted, have been felt most keenly by the Pacific Islanders, who form a "minority within the minority." The inadequacies and malfunctions of the present Asian/Pacific relationship are discussed, and the origins and development of the label behind it are assessed. The role of Federal assistance is probed, as both a factor contributing to the "dilemma," and also as a functional measurement of the inter-ethnic partnership itself. The paper ends with a presentation of the project's list of recommendations, including abolishment of the label and a call for the formation of a national coalition of both groups. (KH)

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ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC AMERICANS: THE DILEMMA OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS AND THE ROLE OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

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ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN RELATIONS: THREE STUDIES

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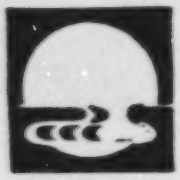

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Introduction

The documented historical record of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders suggests a wide spectrum of experience, balanced against a number of common problems and mutual aspirations in American society. The issue of the degree of commonality or differentiation among these groups, as highlighted in the first two parts of this report remain interesting, but essentially moot points of debate. It is more helpful to realize that the many nuances associated with such factors are in themselves neutral. They only assume meaning and significance when they are related to such matters as problem-solving and decision-making. Thus, their true value lies in drawing our attention to these more fundamental concerns.

The impetus behind this report has been the growing view of many that the APA label itself needs to be critically examined. There is a need to question the assumptions behind its ascribed characteristics and implied functions. As observed elsewhere, the subject is fundamental and far-reaching because it is essentially political in nature.[1] In this light, "ethnic solidarity" has become suspect in its self-proclaimed abilities to translate mutual aspirations into mutually satisfying accomplishments. These questions about the APA label preface the growing concern over what has been viewed as a "problematic relationship" behind the label. This situation challenges the abilities of the two groups to work effectively together. It is suggested that these matters are viewed as basic to any improved understanding of problem-solving strategies among these segments of society. Given the fundamental nature of this issue and its far-reaching significance for the future of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, it is hard to understand why the subject has been left unaddressed by those who claim to represent and advocate the special interests and needs of the APA population before the agencies of the government and the general public.

The importance of properly assessing the current dilemma of inter-ethnic relations among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders does not lie in the perceived inability or reluctance of these two groups to cooperate or interact with each other. It is instead a more fundamental issue, whereby problems associated with and arising out of the relationship have come to adversely affect and possibly undermine the potential for success in achieving the specialized goals of each group's respective constituency.

This paper is intended as an initial step in the direction of re-evaluating the nature of inter-ethnic relations within the APA group, against the label which binds them together. Specifically, the place and role of federal assistance is used as a vehicle to demonstrate the degree of success or failure of the relationship. In asking questions about the usefulness or functionalism of a largely ascribed relationship, there is in effect the move to seek a validation or invalidation of the concept behind the APA label. The particulars of the track record in the area of ethnic community advocacy and federal assistance underscore the reality of APA inter-ethnic relations, and in turn suggest where and how we can improve upon the situation. The project, and this paper in specific, does not attempt to provide firm conclusions on the subject under review, but does offer some potentially useful recommendations for the future.

1) Some Historical Notes on the Asian/Pacific American (APA) Concept

It can be observed that part of the problem behind the use of the APA label today can be traced to a general lack of awareness of what the term represents or embraces, as well as widespread ignorance regarding the origins of the label and its historical development. This situation is in sharp contrast to the fact that the APA label has seemingly arisen out of nowhere in a relatively short period of time to become well known and widely applied by both the ethnic com-

munity and the various agencies of the government. In order to better understand the current problems in the APA inter-ethnic relationship, it might be useful to inquire about the origins of the APA label and the forging of the APA relationship.

1:1 Origins of the APA Label

In making inquiries about the APA label, there is a general consensus among academics, community leaders, social service providers, and government representatives that the exact origins of the label and its initial application are difficult, if not impossible to ascertain at the present time. In earlier sections of this report there were references to meetings or situations when the label became operational, but again such references only hint at, but do not explain or chronicle the sequence of events. There is the implication that such a development mirrors a broadly based socio-cultural movement, with political undertones, for improved visibility and ethnic group advocacy. The specifics are, again a matter of conjecture, and perhaps a moot point. What is clear is that the APA label seems to have become an established categorical device by the mid 1970's, after a brief period of gestation.

Several sources, in the fields of Education, Mental Health, and Ethnic Studies cite Hawaii as the first place where the APA label emerged in the early 1970's, and possibly earlier.[2]

The coining of a new categorical label for viewing inter-ethnic relationships must be understood in the light of ethnic solidarity among the so-called "Third World" minority groups. It should be remembered that many of the various labels and terms so commonly used in reference to such groups today are in themselves of recent vintage. The Asian American label (AA) in particular is such an item. It resulted from the socio-political movement among Asian youth, intellectuals and radicals in the late 1960's who sought greater solidarity and

cooperation among several diverse Asian groups. This development was initiated in California, first on the campuses of several colleges and at the University of California at Berkeley. From this point, the AA label spread to the East, the Northwest, and to Hawaii. Thus, the adoption of the APA label had the important antecedent of solidarity among Asian Americans on the American mainland.

Given the spirit of mutual political solidarity and the cultivation of a pluralist (socio-cultural) perspective since the early 1970's, the move to establish broad categorical labels among Asians, and then among Asians and Pacific Islanders, seemed natural and reasonable. Hawaii was no exception. In the islands, the various Asian groups were large and embodied an experience that stood in contrast to that of Asians on the American mainland. Additionally, in the islands, the Hawaiians have been viewed by most from the outset as a significant and integral part of island society and culture, even after the arrival of the haoles and Asians. In this context, the haoles might have come to monopolize social status, material wealth, and enjoy a disproportionate share of political power, but it was an inescapable fact of island life that Islanders and Asians were key component parts of an essentially tripartite society, which could not be lightly dismissed or ignored. While some might lend credence to the perception that in the islands the haoles, Asians, and Islanders had merged together to form a socio-cultural and political paradise of tolerance and cooperation, it is nonetheless true that there has continued to exist some degree of communal tensions among Asians, Islanders, and haoles.

Given the rise of an Asian American movement, first on the mainland and then in the islands, it is not too difficult to see why and how such a movement widened to embrace the Islanders. In the light of past experiences in the islands, given the history of haole socio-political domination, it can be seen

that Asian and Islander interaction and cooperation was a potentially positive strategy for coping with racial prejudice and discrimination. The case has been made whereby Islanders (Hawaiians) maneuvered themselves between the haoles on one hand and the Asians on the other, playing one against the other. In particular, such a view emphasizes linkages with the haoles against the Asians in an effort to buffer and improve the diminishing Islander position.[3] While this may have been true in the period before and after the turn of the century, it does not seem tenable in the light of recent or current community developments in island society. It must be pointed out that the "middleman minority" function and status of the Asian segment of the population may have been a reality of the past, but had certainly lessened by World War II and disappeared by the early 1960's. During the course of the last two decades, Asians, Islanders and haoles have developed a positive working relationship. This is not to suggest that racial prejudice and discrimination are absent from "paradise," it is to point out that such factors are no longer as significant as they once were. Certainly, they are no longer exclusive in their ability to determine ethnic position and interaction in Hawaii.[4]

Regarding at what point in time, under what conditions and exactly where the APA label was first used in Hawaii is, as mentioned earlier, difficult to determine at the present time. A number of explanations have been advanced, none of which are adequately documented so as to offer any precise information. Some of these scenarios include: a) the coining of the APA label in conjunction with activities associated with the emergent Ethnic Studies program at the University of Hawaii on the Manoa campus; b) the development of the APA label as part of the movement for increased solidarity among Asians and Islanders in addressing the communal and social service needs of the ethnic community, as they related to legislative programs and activities by the government of the

state of Hawaii; c) the application of the APA label by Hawaii state government agencies as a means of seeking improved service for related segments of the state's population. Regardless of who first used the term and under what conditions, it seems fairly certain that by the mid 1970's, the APA concept was a generally recognized categorical device which bound Asians and Islanders into some kind of a relationship in Hawaii.

Developments reflecting the rising tide of Asian American and Pacific Islander inter-ethnic relations and solidarity in Hawaii did not remain confined there, but quickly spread to the American mainland. In the early to mid 1970's a number of circumstances paved the way for this development. First, there was, as noted above, the already well developed spirit of ethnic solidarity among the major Asian groups, i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino communities (at least among youth, intellectuals, and activist orientated community advocates). This development reflected the broader rubric of ethnic interaction and cooperation among Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Secondly, during this period, 1970-75, the Pacific Islander population continued to grow in size, possessing its own internal sub-divisions and diversification in the form of Samoan, Hawaiian, Tongan, and Chamorro (Guamanian) groups. Thirdly, and most significantly, there emerged at this time instances of dialogue, interaction, and cooperation among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in a number of small random situations. For their part, the selected elements of the Pacific Islander leadership, or at least representatives of it, began to become active in the kinds of activities which had come to absorb the energies and commitments of the Asian American leadership. A case in point was the formation of the National Office for Samoan Affairs (NOSA) in 1976, in California.[5] In other words, community advocacy and ethnic political activism became new tools for seeking Samoan, and more broadly Pacific Islander, needs and interests.

Finally, at some point in time Asian American and Pacific Islander advocates, at least a growing number of them, sensed the value of some kind of formalization of a growing relationship between the two groups.

The move to establish an alliance embracing Asian American and Pacific Islander groups was initiated on the basis of perceived mutual needs. The Asian American movement could appreciate the tremendous improvements in ethnic consciousness and activism among the many sub-ethnic units which bore the AA label; but it was also a fact that the Asian American movement was small in comparison with those of the Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. Certainly, for strategic reasons, it seemed reasonable to foster an alliance which broadened the base of the group. If the Pacific Islander contingent was small in number, it did embrace a new and growing entity. At this point in time, in part a reflection of the enthusiasm of the times, and in part due to a lack of foresight and critical examination, the Asian American movement/leadership gave little thought to matters which might suggest that such an alliance could be inappropriate or counterproductive. It can be surmised that at this time the expected benefits or imagined positive goals were overwhelming in their attracting Asian American support. On the other side of the picture, Pacific Islanders were also susceptible to the allure of a formalization of the emergent Asian American and Pacific Islander working relationship. Plainly, the Pacific Islanders were new at the game of ethnic community advocacy, inter-ethnic interaction, and governmental activity. It could be seen that concrete benefits might result from such an alliance for the Pacific Islanders. As a small group, compared with Asian Americans, they were too small to venture out alone. Additionally, they lacked clout and experience in socio-political advocacy. Articulated or not, the spirit for cooperation and mutual identification soon became manifest in California among both Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

1:2 Transition from a Regional Innovation to a National Phenomenon

Starting in 1973, the APA label and idea underwent a transition from a regional development to a national one. This movement was initiated by a small number of community leaders, spearheaded by newly emergent Asian American leaders in the Mental Health field.

During the early 1970's, leaders in the Social Service, Education, and Mental Health fields became increasingly concerned with the lack of attention by "mainstream professionals" to the special needs of the ethnic community. One such demonstration of this concern was the formation of the American Mental Health coalition (AAMHC) to address Asian American Mental Health needs. This organization, through the work of its membership, virtually re-wrote, re-defined, and re-structured the Mental Health profession's perception of Asian Amemrican Mental Health needs. The new group not only brought long overdue attention to community needs, but was also instrumental in fostering a new kind of organizational drive among Asian American professionals. They also began the urgent task of tapping into federal funding. By 1975, after a meeting in Los Angeles, the group had expanded to include a contingent of Pacific islanders. Subsequently, the group changed its name to the Pacific Asian Coalition (PAC).[6] Although the Pacific Islander involvement was quite limited, almost a kind of tokenism, it was a good start in the direction of fostering a working relationship between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders on the American mainland. The significance of PAC's actions was that it established a model for others to follow. Others came to emulate PAC, unfortunately adopting negative as well as positive aspects of the PAC experience.

Following quickly the example of PAC, other groups of Asian American specialists and professionals gave recognition to the APA concept by organizing or re-organizing their associations and professional societies around the APA

label. Initially, it became popular and then mandatory for avant-garde groups to seek out the Pacific islander connection. Given the fact that Asian American groups were usually larger, had a longer experiennce in community advocacy and action, the initiative rested with this group rather than with the Pacific Islander units.

The most significant group to adopt the APA concept/label was that of Asian American specialists in mullti-cultural and bilingual education fields. The initial impetus for organizing an APA national organization resulted from increasing frustration and resentment over the failure to achieve appropriate recognition and response to APA concerns within the existing national professional society, the National Assosciation for Bilingual Education (NABE) (founded in 1975). In 1977, the National Association for Asian American and Pacific Education (NAAAPE) was formed. Two years later in 1979, NAAAPE hosted its first national conference, which was well attended by many from outside the education field.[7] Since that time, NAAAPE has become one of the largest and most influencial national APA advocacy organizations, with interests in and service to many concerns beyond the field of education.

It will be recalled that earlier in this paper mention was made of the fact that the Asian American movement served as an antecedent experience for ethnic solidarity before the advent of the Asian/Pacific American movement. One of the most important consequences of the earlier movement among Asians was the birth of the Asian American Studies concept on several college and university campuses, especially in Hawaii and the Pacific coast. While Asian American Studies programs had been established at most of the leading institutions of higher education in the West since the late 1960's, there had never been any successful effort to organize the growing number of specialists and practitioners active in the field. In the spring of 1979 a small group of concerned individuals, mainly

from the University of Washington and UCLA gathered in Los Angeles to initiate a move to organize a professional society for the field of Asian American Studies. By 1980, a new national professional society was established. Initially, the new society was to have been called the National Association for Asian American Studies, however it was drawn to the attention of the organizers that it would have been more appropriate with current thinking about the Asian American and Pacific Islander alliance to include "Pacific" in the organization's name. The result was the Association for Asian/Pacific American Studies (AAPAS), which hosted its first annual meeting and national conference in 1980 at the University of Washington in Seattle.[8]

In similar fashion scores of caucus groups, advocacy coalitions, and professional societies adopted the APA label, while cultivating a wider sociopolitical base that included both Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. The result of these developments was a situation in the late 1970's in which the APA label was increasingly familiar and in wide use by leading groups in the APA community. If the label was unheard of at the start of the decade, it was well established nationally among APA communities by the end of the decade.

1:3 The Federal Government and the New APA Concept

The APA label emerged in the late 1970's as a major rallying point for avant-garde Asian American and Pacific Islander advocates. As noted above, these individuals were quite active in advancing the new idea. Although their numbers were always few, their activities had a tremendous influence upon the ethnic community. This was especially true in those critical areas where ethnic community advocacy and decision-making of the larger society intersected. In other words, much of the activities of the Asian/Pacific American leadership were directed at informing and lobbying with American society and government, as they were in mobilizing and servicing APA communities. Quite naturally, the new

APA label became exposed to a growing number of organizations and groups. If more and more APA groups and communities were identifying with the new label, so too were many of the groups and organizations of mainstream society. The most significant units, both in size and importance, of the larger society to respond were the various branches and agencies of the federal government.

It will be recalled that such organizations such as PAC and NAAAPE were not only involved in organizing their memberships for advocacy work and service, but had also become quite involved in tapping federal funding for a wide array of projects, programs, and activities. It is an interesting historical footnote that just as the APA movement came into its own in the late 1970's and early 1980's, the massive cornucopia of federal funding began to decrease and then almost disappear altogether. Yet, before this process achieved its zenith point, the APA label became an established part of the federal government's bureaucratic jargon.

It is almost impossible to pinpoint exactly where and when the apparatus of the federal government first adopted the APA label as a categorical device in the formulation of policy, management of programs, and the deployment of funding. No doubt, the activities of such organizations as PAC and NAAAPE were instrumental in forcing the APA label into the field of vision of many government bureaucrats. This was especially true for such agencies as the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and the U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare (HEW), where PAC and NAAAPE activities were concentrated. In submitting proposals to these agencies, the new APA identifying label crept into the bureaucratic lexicon.[9] In this manner leaders of the new front-line APA organizations exercised a decisive influence in re-defining and re-shaping how the government viewed and identified APA groups. After this initial exposure and sensitizing of such agencies as HEW and NIMH, other agencies quickly followed

suit. These included Social Security, Census, Internal Revenue, Labor, and the Commission on Civil Rights to name a few. In particular, four instances were decisive in the promotion of the APA concept at the federal level, which in turn not only affected the whole apparatus of the federal government, but also influenced state and local governments to adopt the new APA label in their conduct of business. In turn, these developments also influenced other sectors of society in business, academia, politics, and law.

The four important developments leading to the final stage of development of the APA term as a national phenomenon were: the U.S. Decennial Census, the formation of APA advocacy units in a select number of cabinet level units of the executive branch, recognition from the White House in the form of a Presidential Proclamation of Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week in May 1979, and finally recognition by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The U.S. Census has served as a governmental barometer of American policy and position with regards to the identification and categorization of ethnic and racial minorities in this country. There has evolved the contradictory situation whereby smaller, more precise and accurate categories have been juxtaposed against larger, more inclusive ones. In earlier decennial census events, the category of "other" had been used extensively, and most critics agree that it has been abused. Starting with the 1960 census, continuing through the 1970 census, recognition has been given to major Asian American units. In the 1980 census the paradoxical need to be both specific and general was also evident.

> The Census Bureau has performed some awkward lumping and splitting in an area of great sensitivity in American society ... include several Asian and Pacific Island groups .... The justification for nationality listing of Asian countries was the experience in pre-tests that many failed to identify with a single category, "Asian and Pacific Islander." However, the current list does not include "other Asian" so Indonesians, Malayans, Thais, Cambodians, Burmese, and others would (have no) write in their nationalities .... Addition of an "other Asian" category would yield quickly a total for "Asian and Pacific Americans" .... The uneasiness ... concerning these questions stems not from an objection to the goal of

counting the population by "ethnic heritage" or "ethnic identity," but to the self-identification questions to be used. This uneasiness is based at least partly on experience with ethnic identification.[10]

In the increased sophistication and more responsible accounting procedures of the U.S. Census Bureau, there has emerged a greater visibility and general recognition of various APA groups and of the APA group in general. This is evidenced in the usage of both specific categorical units (Chinese, Samoan, Korean, and Chamorro, etc.) and general labels (Asian and Pacific Islander). While there was no effort to link Asian and Pacific units together, as mentioned above, there has been however, an effort to give attention to the two groupings as evidenced in their respective labels, i.e. "Asian" and "Pacific" Americans. It can easily be seen that such a move on the part of the Census Bureau reflects short term, practical, and technical prerequisites of a limited nature. In attempting to obtain a more precise and accurate enumeration of demographic variables in the decennial census, it should not be lost that such a development has had an influence on how the national government has come to view such matters. Additionally, such a change has impacted policy considerations at state and local levels of government, as well as affecting how our society perceives such groups within it. Public education, social service delivery systems, and affirmative action programs in both the private and public sectors mirror the changes which were initiated by the Census Bureau in its activities. These significant changes, it should be observed, actually predated the 1980 census. They were evident in the 1978 trial run of the 1980 census procedures.[11]

In the 1970's there emerged the phenomenon of "Concerns Staffs" within the bureaucratic apparatus of federal agencies in the executive branch. These new infrastructures within a few major cabinet level departments were charged with monitoring legislative activities and executive branch decision-making, as they

potentially affected minority rights and needs. The first such unit was the Hispanic Concerns Staff in HEW in 1971, with another one created for Blacks in 1972-73. A number of APA community activists saw the need and desirability of having such a unit to advocate the APA perspective. Lobbying and intense advocacy resulted in the formation of an APA advocacy unit within HEW in 1977, with Mr. Stephen Thom from Cal State University at Fresno, as its first director. The Asian/Pacific American Concerns Staff barely got started, when HEW was split into two separate cabinet level departments by the Carter Administration in 1980. Subsequently, units were located in the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services, with the former being the direct extension of the former HEW unit.[12]

The APA Concerns Staff, while always small and chronically lacking in adequate funding and personnnel support, has managed to become a vital force in APA advocacy in the nation's capital. Activities have taken place in four major areas. These include: a) continual monitoring of Congressional legislation and the offering of appropriate inputs representing the needs and interests of the APA community in this country; b) constant review and input into the administrative process in the departments of Education and Health & Human Services, in which APA Concerns staffs are currrently located. Particular focus centers on policy, program, and funding considerations within each respective department; c) advising and assistance to other major governmental agencies with respect to APA interests (which include: Treasury, Housing, Immigration, Social Security, Labor, etc.); and finally d) act as a vital link between the federal government and the many segments of the APA community. If the Census Bureau has been instrumental in establishing overdue recognition of APA groups, the APA Concerns Staffs have translated recognition into a mutually rewarding communications between APA communities and the federal government. Significant and timely

changes in federal policy, and the programs designed to implement it, have resulted in recent years. Such developments have impacted local and state government policies and programs.

The changes initiated by the U. S. Census Bureau and the activities of the APA Concerns staff did not result in earth shaking changes in government, with regards to how the apparatus of government perceived and responded to APA issues; but in a relatively short period of time there has resulted significant and timely changes in many policies, programs, and related areas of activity. Recognition has brought greater awareness and sensitivity. This has also resulted in greater visibility and potential leverage in decision-making in government.

The increased awareness and appreciation of the APA perspective reached a high point with the proclamation of President Carter of an ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN HERITAGE WEEK in May 4-11, 1979. While this action was formally in response to a House Joint resolution of the Ninety-fifth Congress, it reflected a growing movement both within the government and in the APA community to lend greater recognition to the APA heritage and contemporary issues/problems. Under the banner of APA Heritage Week, federal, state, and local government agencies joined together with APA ethnic ccommunity organizations to promote a wide range of activities designed to inform and educate Americans about the APA experience and perspective. The significance of this development in 1979 is twofold. First, there is the fact that within a very short period of time, the APA label and the guiding spirit of ethnic solidarity behind it, had become nationally recognized. Secondly, APA advocates and representatives were gaining access to decision-makers at all levels of government, and hopefully were in a position to influence policy formulation and implementation. This represented a revolutionary change for Asians and Pacific Islanders in this country.

The value of the Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week is that it offered national exposure and increased socio-political involvement of the APA population in this country. More immediately, this development helped to establish the APA identity across the land. Since 1979, there have been annual APA Heritage weeks in May of every year. During these occasions, government, business, education, and the ethnic community have supported a wide spectrum of programs and activities designed to educate the public about who Asian/Pacific Americans are and the nature of their needs.

During the first APA Heritage Week in 1979, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights sponsored a major hearing which focused on a consultation on the civil rights issues of Asian and Pacific Americans in Washington, D. C., May 8-9, 1979. In responding to the presidential proclamation and in fulfillment of its mandated functions, the commission invested time and effort in a critical examination of fundamental, but heretofore ignored/neglected areas of APA experience in this country. While the compiled transcript and documents of these hearings have not yet resulted in immediate nor far-reaching changes in the government or society-at-large, they have stimulated a greater interest and sensitivity on the part of many in government service.[13] It is also true that this new sense of awareness became increasingly evident in many parts of the ethnic community.

Taken together, these several developments on the federal level have had a major impact upon the APA community through further enhancement of the APA label. The result has been improved visibility and greater recognition of the APA group. It is also meant improved access to and involvement in the decision-making process. These matters seemed to point to a new era for APA experience in the United States.

2) The APA Concept: Its Use and Abuse

In a relatively short period of time, the APA concept emerged from obscurity in Hawaii to become a nationally recognized and popularly applied term. By 1980, the label was in widespread use by government at the federal, state, and local levels. Additionally, many segments of society were also increasingly familiar with the concept. In both the public and private sectors the term became an accepted identifying label, which in turn underscored a new kind of relationship between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. In government this development was reflected in a new sensitivity to ethno-linguistic minority concerns, and among leaders and advocates of the APA communities it demonstrated a new sensibility in the area of inter-ethnic relations. In the case of the former the use of the new idea/label suggested a positive advance in the eyes of many, whereas in the case of the latter use of the idea/label meant for some an abuse of an ascribed relationship that had not yet proven itself.

2:1 The Use of the APA Concept in American Society

On one level, the label has been meaningful and quite useful. Among many leaders of society and government, the APA label/concept has been viewed as a positive development, primarily because it simplifies matters relative to ethnic classifications. The new label fits well the bureaucratic tendency to seek out jargon which performs a useful service of condensing, abbreviating, or consolidating what are often viewed as awkward and unwieldy elements into neat, well packaged items. This makes working with them a lot easier. If the new changes advocated come from those who bear such labels, so much the better. Secondly, the new APA label lends itself well to prevailing and well established American attitudes concerning racial and ethnic minorities.

Traditionally, American society has demonstrated a tendency to favor the "general" over the "specific" or the "ascribed" over the "real" in matters of

race. One result has been widespread and indiscriminate stereotyping of racial and ethno-linguistic minorities in this country. There has been little effort to differentiate between Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans (American Indians) in terms of their respective histories, needs and interests. This prevailing situation is even more entrenched in the case of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. In the eyes of most Americans, the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Indochinese groups remain an enigma, largely indistinguishable from one another. As for the Pacific Islanders, they are usually lumped together as, "brown natives under swaying palms." In this light, the APA label seemed both natural and convenient for the vast majority of Americans. It lends itself quite well to the traditional way of thinking about such groups in the past.

The use of the APA label and the recognition it accords the new APA relationship, though never fully comprehended, continues to underscore the perceptions of government bureaucrats, politicians, educators, and many segments of the American public regarding the current status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States. The use of the term is assured because it is convenient and useful. It was, after all the APA ethnic leadership itself that advocated the application of the term. The view from within the APA partnership has been less assured and less comforting.

2:2 The Abuse of the APA Concept Within the Ethnic Community

The general acceptance of the APA concept by American society and its widespread application by American government to a wide range of socio-economic and civic concerns in the ethnic community represents a major achievement by the APA leadership in the area of minority advocacy. As timely and as impoprtant as this development is, it should not be interpreted that all of the activities of the APA leadership on behalf of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have been an unqualified success--which is not the case.

In the aftermath of successful advocacy of the APA concept in the larger society, there have arisen a number of basic and persistent issues which have either been ignored from the outset, or which have only become more clearly perceived in the light of recent successes. Perhaps for the first time, elements within the APA leadership are beginning to address these matters. This results from explicit criticisms from segments within the APA configuration over the nature of the APA concept, and the movement it has guided. Related to this is the implicit dissatisfaction with the mechanics that have thus far governed the pattern of inter-ethnic relations among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. The issue of abuse has been raised.

Abuse of the APA concept/relationship occurs in many forms, is based on diverse criteria, and takes place in different ways. Generally, it refers to those situations in which actions take place, or are allowed to develop, which run contrary to and undermine the original purposes for which the concept was created for. More specifically, abuse relates to a perceived sense of inadequacy and malfunction of the inter-ethnic relationship which has come to bound Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders together in recent years. There is at present a growing schism between the two partners over the shape and direction of this relationship. More importantly, there is doubt over the value and use of this arrangement. This uncertainty and dissatisfaction on the part of growing numbers of APA groups stems in large part from a recognition of the persistent discrepancy between rising expectations and prevailing realities which surround and impact the APA inter-ethnic relationship. These concerns may have been easily ignored previously, but thrust themselves into current APA consciousness with great force, and threaten the whole movement from within its own ranks.

Abuses of the APA concept/movement may be summarized as follows:

1) The careless and indiscriminate use of the APA label to represent an ascribed relationship, in place of a viable functional relationship of mutual respect and cooperation between all ethno-linguistic groups which make up the APA group.

2) The hypocritical situation whereby APA sub-ethnic units are unable and unwilling to develop a necessary knowledge of and respect for each others' history, culture, and problems as required of American society and government.

3) The mistaken notion that all APA sub-ethnic units share a commonality in their particular needs and interests; and that these elements are easily juxtaposed to a generalized-all inclusive group entity, i.e. the "APA Community."

4) The lack of full parity for all segments of the APA group in both their representation in national APA organizations and in the decision-making process which governs them.

5) The lack of operational procedural arrangements for the full expression of all ethno—linguistic minority points of view; and mechanisms for the resolution of conflict within the APA configuration.

6) The unfair utilization of the APA label/concept to advocate the special interest/needs of one segment of the APA group to the disadvantage or jeopardy of those of another segment.

The particulars associated with the abuse of the APA concept by elements within the APA community will be elaborated upon in the next section of this paper. The intent here is to call attention to the prevailing contradiction facing the APA movement today. It is a dilemma that is only now coming into proper focus with its complex variables. Involved in this matter are questions which touch upon socio-economic, political, ethno-linguistic, cultural, and philosophical considerations. Each one of these areas is interdependent with the others and is rendered more complex by changing perspectives and conditions within the APA communities themselves.

At present there is the contradictory need to inquire into and resolve the series of abuses outlined above, while at the same time there is the simultaneous imperative to safeguard the battles won and gains made on behalf of APA interests in the last decade or so. This situation offers a dilemma that is difficult to conceptualize, much less move to resolve. It is too convenient and

look to the Pacific islander for leadership in better understanding these key issues; and secondly for leads on how to successfully deal with them.

It should be cautioned that while the Pacific Islander view is out of necessity a partisan one, reflecting self-interest as a survival mechanism, it addresses a non-partisan subject. Regardless of the current situation, the APA concept/relationship is of vital interent to all parties concerned. In making deference to the Pacific Islander initiative, there is the need to remember that the problems at hand are mutual, as are the responsibilities for effective resolution.

3:1 Great Expectations and the Illusion of an Ascribed Relationship

It will be recalled that the initial motivation for the inauguration of the APA concept and the growth of the related movement had been the belief of many APA advocates and leaders that such a development held out great hope for the future well being of APA groups in America. Such a view held firmly to the expectation that increased visibility of APA groups, and their improved access to decision-making in society and government, could produce timely benefits for these segments of the population. Thus, a new label and concept evolved on the rising expectations of what could be done for those willing to identify with them. These expectations in themselves were natural and innocuous. They have become, however, a source of embarrassment and hardship when artificially bound to the false illusion of an ascribed relationship, which does not seem to have existed.

The ascribed relationship involving Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, as indicated in the first two parts of this general report, is based almost exclusively on the superficial and generalized approximations of history, geography, and culture. Again, it is a problem in which many are willing to rely on broad generalized stereotypes of others as a means of recognizing and dealing

tempting to minimize and downplay the nature and scope of these problems of abuse, given the degree of potential risk that is required. It may be that such considerations, and others, have prevented the long overdue, but necessary reappraisal of the APA label, the concept(s) behind it, and the inter-ethnic relationship it supports. There is a rising tide of opinion among concerned and responsible APA leaders in both the Asian American and Pacific Islander leadership that such a counterproductive situation cannot be allowed to continue. It is a dilemma which the larger society should be aware of, but more importantly it is one which the APA community itself is obligated to address and resolve for the sake of its own future well being.

3) Pacific Islanders Astir: Partisan Views on A Non-partisan Issue

In earlier portions of this report Chan, Manak, and Luce have correctly observed that much of the impetus for focusing attention on the perceived problems of the APA concept/relationship have in fact arisen from within only one segment of the APA community, i.e. the Pacific Islander group.[14] It has been mentioned again and again that the Pacific Islander leadership, or at least its most active advocates and representatives, have made this issue a cause whereas the Asian American position has been one of disinterest and neglect. When we speak of Asian American lack of awareness and concern for this issue, it is not meant to convey an indifference or lack of sensitivity due to a prejudice against the Pacific Islander position and the many problems associated with it. It is rather a matter of properly positioning rising, but increasingly frustrated expectations, against prevailing conditions and pre-existing needs of two very different groups. In essence, the Pacific Islanders in having been in a position of being "the minority within a minority" have felt most keenly the adverse consequences of the issue(s) at hand. Thus, it is natural and proper to

with ethnic-linguistic and racial minorities in our society. The ascribed relationship embracing Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders is a product of this type of thinking. It is easy to see how those in government or the society-at-large have come to subscribe to such a view, but it seems harder to understand how and why leaders in the Asian American and Pacific Islander communities have done so, as evident in their willingness to be identified with it. The reasons for passive acceptance or active support of this image of the APA relationship by APA groups are varied, but not unrelated in their motivation. Great expectations have been a common denominator in the views of the leadership of both groups.

The Asian American view of their new relationship with the Pacific Islanders is a mixed one, ranging from indifference to a pragmatic orientated strategy of passive acceptance. It is already been outlined in the first part of this report that the great majority of Asian Americans are unaware of, much less concerned about the APA concept. This is in part an extension of the situation whereby most Asian Americans find it difficult to identify with the antecedent "Asian American" concept. It is more common for this segment of the population to relate to the more specific indicators of ethnicity or sub-ethnic ties, i.e. Chinese, Korean, Filippino, Japanese, and Indochinese Americans. More generally, this stance on the part of most Asian Americans is also a reflection of the fact that changing ideas about ethnic identity and association have been limited in their use and application to a small select group. Academics, professionals, and avant-garde community advocates in having helped to create first the Asian American label, and then the Asian/Pacific American idea, seem to be the main vehicles for their transmission and use. It can be seen that these situations help explain why so few Asian Americans are committed to the APA movement. Can it be any wonder that only a very few are willing and

able to ponder the nuances of "an ascribed relationship between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders?"

If so many Asian Americans are uniformed or uninterested in the emerging problems of the APA inter-ethnic relationship, are we to conclude that there are none that demonstrate a concern? In the course of preparing this report, it has become increasingly clear that there are many interested Asian Americans. While their numbers are small, they have exerted a strong influence on Asian American involvement in the APA movement to date. A proper understanding of this aspect of the Asian American position on the APA inter-ethnic relationship is important not so much from the perspective of the Asian Americans themselves, per se, but rather from the perspective of how Pacific Islanders see this development and in turn how they respond to it.

For the small numbers of Asian Americans interested in and committed to the APA concept/movement, there has been the situation whereby the emphasis has been on "function", as opposed to "form". In this light pragmatic considerations have always remained paramount. This stems from the fact that initial Asian American endorsement of the APA concept, and subsequent support of the APA relationship have been predicated on Asian American self-interest. This was evident in the establishment of such national APA organizations as PAC, NAAAPE, and AAPAS. It has also been evident in the development of a wide range of socio-political activities ranging from APA caucus groups and both regional and national networks for communication and advocacy. This situation should not be interpreted as saying that such a move reflects a predetermined prejudice against the Pacific Islanders. It merely reflects a recognition of pre-existing apriori considerations.

The motivating factors at work supporting Pacific Islander involvement in the APA movement have also resulted from a desire to meet self-interests. In

this case however, there seems to have been the perception that both "form" and "function" are equally important to the Pacific islander cause. Pacific Islander advocates and leaders came from a different experience and socio-political climate, when they first entered into the new APA configuration of Asian American and Pacific islander inter-ethnic relations. In contrast to the Asian American perspective of approaching the new APA concept with the pragmatic factors in mind, the Pacific Islanders embraced it with great expectations for their own future improvement and success. Much of this was based upon the expected benefits of Asian American good will, cooperation, and established experience. In this light, Pacific islanders reflected a kind of naivete in regards to their perception of the new APA concept, and what their association with it could do for them.

As Asian Americans have become involved in the APA movement, their presence has resulted in the contradiction, whereby they have both "helped" and "hindered" the pattern of APA inter-ethnic relations. As noted above, Asian American actions in themselves remain relatively unimportant, largely because they have not been in themselves focused against the Pacific islander. It is rather, a situation where there has developed a rising tide of Pacific Islander concern and resentment about the nature and pattern of relations between themselves and the Asian Americans. If the vast majority of Asian Americans are unaware and indifferent to these matters, it is also increasingly evident that those small numbers of Asian Americans, who initially were so helpful in initiating the APA movement on a national scale, seem to have become barriers to further progress in the continued development of the APA movement. Initial "help" is now seen as "hindrance". Whether such hindrance is the result of conscientious effort, or passive neglect makes little difference to the Pacific Islanders. The result is

the same, the Pacific Islanders are astir. A new assertiveness characterizes their discussions and activities.

It is important to understand why and how the Pacific Islander leadership is astir with a new determination to redefine and redirect the future course of Pacific Islanders in the United States. It has been shown that while Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders joined together to promote the APA concept, they did so with contrasting perceptions of what the resulting relationship could provide. This has resulted in an uneasy relationship with many unrealized expectations. Fundamentally speaking, the relationship itself generates tension. It is one in which Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders were thought to share a common experience and a developed sensitivity to each other's sense of predicament. This then, is the illusion of the ascribed relationship which has bound these groups together in recent years.

The discrepancy between expectation and prevailing realities has inevitably resulted in frustration and disillusionment. Again, it is the Pacific Islanders who seem most vulnerable. This results from the fact that their expectations have been greater, and their position more vulnerable because such hopes were built on the shifting sands of an unsupportable naivete. The Asian Americans do not lack for a sense of frustration or resentment that comes from unfulfilled expectations. As noted above, their lack of awareness and concern, or their passive acceptance of the whole APA rationale provided only for limited expectations. With few demands and expectations on the APA concept, there has been a reduction of risks. This has not been the case of the Pacific Islanders. The profound sense of disillusionment and resentment among this group is a direct result of the great investments made, by way of expectations and demands of the new relationship. Having begun to realize the reality of the situation, the Pacific Islanders are pressing onwards.

3:2 The Lack of Parity for Pacific Islanders

Most recently, Pacific Islander resentment over perceived inadequacies in the APA relationship stem from what many see as a lack of parity. This problem is especially evident in where and how Pacific islander interests are underrepresented or entirely neglected among APA leaders, and within national organizations which profess to support the APA community. The problem of a lack of parity of Pacific Islanders should not be seen merely as a quantitative issue, whereby attention focuses on headcounts, alloted positions, or enumerated percentages. It is rather a situation where the Pacific Islander point of view is denied equal billing because it is denied equal ideological and organizational support within the APA movement. Previously, the greatest expectation, and therefore the greatest disappointment, of the Pacific Islanders had been the hope for a full functional partnership with the Asian Americans, as implied in the APA label. It has become increasingly clear in recent years that such an expectation has been misplaced. The problem of parity is best observed and understood by looking at it from different levels. These include: a) leadership, b) decision-making, c) advocacy, and d) funding.

If we recognize that the element of leadership has been so decisive to the early successes of the APA movement, then it can be easily observed that problems in this area are among the most fundamental and critical. The matter of leadership in the perceived abuse of the APA concept among many Pacific Islanders is two-fold. First, there is an increasing frustration with what many see as the continued ineffectiveness of Pacific Islander advocates and leaders in protecting the Pacific Islander position within the broader rubric of the APA movement. Traditional Pacific Islander respect for and reliance upon established leaders is strained in many cases because such leaders and their spokesman remain unable to translate Pacific Islander aspirations and frustrations

into concrete achievements. Secondly, there is the problem of resentment and frustration among Pacific Islander leaders and advocates. This stems in part from the problem of maintaining traditional loyalties in the light of continued lack of success. These matters are critical, but lack adequate research to date. The dilemma of the Pacific islander leadership, at least those segments of it that must advocate Pacific Islander interests within the larger APA group, is more closely tied to the problem of a lack of access to and full representation in the decision-making apparatus which guides the APA movement.

Any review of the composition of the leadership of the growing number of self-proclaimed national APA organizations will show a poor track record in regards to the number of Pacific Islanders and their assignments to positions of authority and responsibility. It is interesting to note that because of this lack of parity within the governing leadership of NAAAPE and other similar organizations that various Pacific Islander leaders and advocates gathered together to caucus about alternatives for the future. This research project is a direct result of this situation.[15] Because neither the elected officers nor the governing boards of most national APA organizations have many Pacific Islanders, it appears that both the titular and defacto leadership of the APA movement rests under the control of the Asian American majority. Whether this majority is sincere or not in its claims of altruism, regarding Pacific Islander needs/interests is of little consequence. It is important to observe that the Pacific Islander is conspicious by his/her absence from the leadership of the APA movement. In lacking access to and participation in the APA leadership (often at local, state, and national levels) this weakens the Pacific Islander leadership within its own constituency. The lack of parity in the area of leadership is thus, the most critical and most glaring example of abuse of the APA concept within the APA community.

The problem with a severely hampered leadership, ineffective within the Pacific Islander camp and impotent within the larger APA group, is most clearly evident in the area of decision-making. Quite obviously, when there exists problems related to the leadership there also exist related problems of access to and involvement in the decision-making area. In the present case, the matter of a lack of parity in decision-making is more involved. The failure to provide for equal authority and responsibility of Pacific Islander leaders/representatives in the APA decision-making process results in a number of adverse results. First, as noted above it makes impossible a full and fair representation of the Pacific Islander point of view on APA issues and problems. Secondly, it does not offer the Pacific Islanders the opportunity to initiate actions in support of what are essentially Pacific Islander issues/problems. Thirdly, Pacific Islanders are denied one of the most important and expected benefits of their association within the APA configuration, i.e. experience and expertise in self-management. In all of these areas, the Pacific Islander is given ample opportunity to observe the use of the Pacific Islander label in a kind of parity in name only. There is a contrasting dearth of opportunities for the Pacific islanders to participate in the shaping of policies, implementing of programs, or allotment of funding for various APA activities. In essence, not only are the Pacific Islanders excluded, intentionally or not, from the decision-making process, they actually derive few benefits from it. Thus, if the situation is one in which there is a claim that a) there are too few Pacific Islanders, b) they are not actively interested, c) they are unqualified, and d) their interests are protected and provided for—it seems that such is not the case. In this light any passive acceptance of this situation is active encouragement of the established trend of abusing not only the APA concept, but more signifi

cantly the very essence of the Pacific Islander raison d'etre in being part of the APA concept from the outset.

The lack of parity in advocacy is related to matters of leadership and decision-making, but is more basic and pervasive. It is a subject that is directly related to the key factor of representation, or the lack of it, in all areas of the APA movement. Without increased representation and involvement of the Pacific Islanders there can be no effective advocacy of their interests. Given the possibility of improvement in the areas of leadership and decision-making, it does not follow that there will be an automatic betterment of advocacy. In order for this to occur there must be the following: a) increased Pacific Islander representation (individually and groups) and visibility within the APA group, b) improved familiarity of Asian Americans with the Pacific Islanders and their situation, c) provision for the synchronization of efforts that can result in a meaningful parity in advocacy activities.

The subject of funding is a significant example of the lack of full parity among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders because it is so powerful in its impact upon the actual well-being of the Pacific Islander groups. It should be quickly apparent that this area of difficulty is a direct result of the above cited examples of inequity among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Mention of funding is made at this time in order to underscore, if there need be at this late date, the gravity of the situation. In the next section, the matter of funding will be dealt with more extensively. Suffice it to mention here that if there has been greater recognition of APA needs and interests in recent years, the bottom line has been the goal of seeking public supported funding of long-standing APA needs. In the communal setting there have evolved a wide spectrum of programs designed to meet these needs. In education, housing, employment training, immigrant aid, social services, public health, civic concerns, and

mental health to name a few, public funding has become essential. When the APA movement does not provide for parity in leadership, decision-making, or advocacy, there is the result of an inequity in resulting funding which is the immediate goal of APA advocacy in the eyes of most APA groups and individuals. Again, one of the perceived (and expected) benefits which prompted Pacific Islanders to join the APA movement seems to have failed to materialize. The lack of parity of the Pacific Islanders in most of the areas mentioned result in frustration, resentment, and alienation. The lack of it in the area of receiving expected funding benefits can be fatal in all respects. This matter of funding is a critical component of the subject of "Federal Assistance," which will be addressed in the last part of this paper.

3:3 Moving from Schism to Autonomy

The problems associated with the lack of a full parity with Asian Americans, whether accidental or intentional, has resulted in the Pacific Islanders' re-examination of their place and role in what has been described as the "ascribed relationship" that is the Asian/Pacific American partnership. Essentially, it is a case whereby the rising expectations of the Pacific Islanders have not been realized. This has resulted in strong feelings of frustration and resentment. While these feelings have not yet given rise to a well coordinated drive and a united Pacific Islander presence, it has opened new vistas for alternatives to the present situation.

It has become increasingly clear to many, or at least those Pacific Islanders who are in positions of leadership within the Pacific islander community, or who have become hardened and outspoken advocates of it, such as the Samoan leadership, that in order for the Pacific Islanders to maintain their point of view and to effectively service Pacific Islander needs, there is the need to consciously separate the "Asian" and "Pacific" parts of the APA group. This has

resulted in a growing schism, most actively pursued by Pacific Islanders. There is the sense that within the APA configuration there is little hope of effectively promoting the Pacific Islander perspective. In contrast, there is the growing belief that outside the APA group, the Pacific Islanders might improve their fortunes. This, of course implies nothing less than the demise of the Asian/Pacific American concept/relationship. Just as the Asian Americans have not sought any harm to the Pacific Islander position, so too the Pacific Islanders do not seek to injure the APA cause per se. It is rather a situation in which some Pacific Islander leaders/representatives support this view at present, see no other alternative to a schism and growing autonomy for the Pacific Islander group.

It may be that the several years of association involving a wide range of Asian American and Pacific Islanders interactions, for good or bad, have provided many important lessons to Pacific islanders. Ultimately, even abuses and benign neglect by would-be-advocates can teach valuable lessons in the area of self-survival. This is evident in the following ways:

1) The Pacific Islanders have become cognizant that an ascribed relationship cannot replace or substitute for a true working relationship of mutual respect and cooperation. Any relationship which only satisfies the requirements in support of an externally concerned image, but which neglects primary functional needs is counterproductive in the long run.
2) If Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and their respective subunits, are unable and unwilling to become familiar with each others' heritage and particular sense of predicament, then how can they expect non APA groups to do so? Without parity in this respect, there can be no parity elsewhere in the APA relationship.

3) The issue of parity is not one limited to the complex area of community advocacy of the Pacific Islander perspective, but also includes questions regarding the meeting of Pacific islander special needs and interests. This area of concern has both a quantitative and qualitative dimension to it. Mechanically speaking, the allotment of material goods and services require alternative logistical and management guidelines. Key matters such as the types of services needed, the kinds of resources best tapped, and questions about access and utilization, need to be reformulated. Conceptually, Pacific Islanders have learned that their particular sense of predicament is directly related to their ability and effectiveness in establishing clearly the distinctiveness of their interests and the atypical character of their needs. The observation now is that the previous acceptance of notions about the close approximations of geo-historical and ethno-cultural factors between and among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders did not build a solid case for the needed emphasis on the differences between the two groups and the discontinuity of their respective experiences. Instead, such a view only resulted in drawing attention to what were in fact superficial and simplistic generalizations about similarity and continuity. This poor conceptualization of the Pacific Islander position has compromised the ability of the leaders of this group to promote a viable ideological stance and to develop a sound organizational base of independent action. The inability to offer a credible distinction between the particulars of the Pacific Islander situation and the generalizations of the APA configuration is an important responsibility and lesson that has only recently been driven home in the thinking of the Pacific Islander leadership.

4) It is not only critical that Pacific Islanders become more active and articulate in the voicing of their views, but that they do so independently. It is not a matter of renouncing ineffective alliances, as it is refusing to continue with surrogate advocates. It appears that increasing segments of the Pacific Islander population are beginning to reject the assumed benefits of allowing others with certain advantages to act on behalf of the Pacific Islander cause. In this light, the positive characteristics of the Asian American groups are seen as liabilities because they ultimately undermine the Pacific islander position. Such factors include: a) the larger demographic base and greater visibility of Asian Americans, b) prior experience of Asian Americans with ethnic solidarity with other Third World Minorities, c) established experience in political struggle and community advocacy, d) expertise in organizing and managing community development and such key areas as social service delivery systems, and e) the "Model Minority" image of Asian Americans in the eyes of most segments of American society. In a sense, the ruse is over and Pacific islanders (at least many of their leaders) are aware of the dangerous consequences of abdicating such fundamental responsibilities. Among the many Pacific Islanders, the focus of attention is less on past actions of Asian and more on past inactions of Pacific Islanders, as a means of reviewing past mistakes. One Samoan leader has been quite candid in his comments.

> If we make mistakes, and we will, we will take responsibility for them. If we fail, we will take the blame. If we succeed, then we will be the ones to take the credit. It is better for Pacific islanders to take their own future in their own hands.[16]

Beginning in the early 1980's, there developed a schism between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, largely in the eyes of the Pacific Islander

leadership. This schism shows no sign of being resolved. If the Asian American community is either unaware of it or is ignoring it, the Pacific Islanders are increasingly attracted to the possibility of autonomy for their people in the area of socio-political advocacy. This development can only point to the potential demise of the APA concept/relationship.

Pacific Islander discontent should not be seen as the only indication of the weakness of the APA agenda or the malfunction of the inter-ethnic relationship which supports it. To a large degree, as yet largely unforeseen by APA groups themselves, the validity of the APA concept, and the viability of the inter-ethnic relationship that embraces it, are matters which have an importance which extends beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community. The main thrust of ethnic minority advocacy, whether Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders work together within the APA movement, or alone as independent entities, is to seek out and cultivate the good will and assistance of the larger society. In particular there is the goal of harnessing the immense resources and capabilities of the federal government.

4) The Role of Federal Assistance and the APA Inter-Ethnic Dilemma

The larger meaning and greater importance of the issue of APA inter-ethnic relations is whether such an arrangement is truly useful in the effort to achieve the goals of improved material welfare and socio-political security of all the sub-ethnic units subsumed under the broad label of "Asian/Pacific Americans" in such a way that there are equal opportunities and equal benefits for all parties concerned.

In understanding that the initial impetus for the inauguration of the APA label/concept was to provide a strategy for achieving both increased visibility of APA groups, and their improved accessibility to and participation in the

decision-making process of government, then it should not be surprising that there exists an interrelationship, if not actual interdependence between the state of APA inter-ethnic relations and the success or failure of obtaining American society's understanding and help. It can be easily seen that an adverse development in one area can and does have a negative effect on the other. This is especially true in the area of Federal Assistance.

The relationship of the role of Federal Assistance and the current APA inter-ethnic dilemma can be looked at from two different points of view. On one hand, it is obvious that a weakening or malfunctioning of the APA inter-ethnic relationship can adversely impact any effort to obtain federal assistance. On the other hand, it is not so clear to most people that the role of federal assistance, as a force for intervention, is also a measurement of the success or failure of the APA inter-ethnic relationship. In other words, the expressed concerns over the functionalism of the APA inter-ethnic relationship are not to be viewed solely within the narrow framework of the partisan perspective of the Pacific Islanders. The non-partisan character of this issue is that its importance extends beyond the confines of the APA ethnic community.

The role of federal assistance is twofold, each of which is important to the future success of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. The first, and perhaps most obvious role of federal assistance is that it acts as a vehicle for servicing the many needs and problems of APA individuals and groups in this country. In this light, policy formulation, program implementation, and funding allotment are seen as key tools for problem-solving for a wide range of heretofore unaddressed problems and needs. Secondly, and most importantly within the context of this paper is the role of federal assistance as an analytical device. In this view, federal assistance, as a problem-solving tool, lends itself well

as an empirical testing of the basic usefulness of the APA inter-ethnic relationship, and more generally the concept behind it.

Federal assistance has been seen by many in the ethnic community, which includes Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans (as well as APA groups), as a desirable and potentially effective way to address long standing needs and outstanding problems in Ethnic America. If we accept the premise that the goal of obtaining increased federal assistance was a primary factor in the inauguration of the APA concept/relationship, then it seems natural to look at the role of federal assistance as a means of testing whether or not such a relationship has in fact been useful in such problem-solving activities.

4:1 The Federal Largess and Ethnic America

The specific topic of federal assistance is closely tied to the history of changes in public policy that relate to the general subject of the purpose and functions of government, as they are juxtaposed against the specific task of addressing socio-economic problems besetting society. Quite simply, it is a question of whether or not the governmental process can or will be used to eliminate or reduce socio-economic problems. One can trace this kind of thinking back to the founding fathers and their plans for the new Republic. It is a perspective that has always been implicit in the workings of government at all levels, but it has been especially explicit and dramatic at several points in the present century.

Both the capability of the government to deal with complex socio-economic issues, and the attitude of American society that government bears many responsibilities in this area date from the turn of the century, during the so-called "Progressive Era." It was at that time that an increasing number of Americans came to believe that the American system no longer gave everyone a fair chance or that everything was well in society. It must be remembered that such notions

were securely contained within the limits of White society, whereby racial and ethno-linguisitc minorities were invariably excluded from utopia itself, much less any review of its failings.

> The term "progressive" was a label for a cluster of social, economic, and political attitudes based on the belief that the country was in a serious crisis ... caused by a maldistribution of America's great and increasing wealth: many had too little of the wealth they were helping to create, and a few had too much ... it was essential to develop a leadership which was unselfishly devoted to "doing" for the entire country.[17]

The progressive spirit has always relied upon the tools of politics and government to translate visions of what might be from the realities of what in fact prevail. In particular, there is an emphasis on the role of government in redistributing the material wealth of society.

> Only government can act for the whole community, establish stable and predictable economic and social relationships, and seek the economic advantage of the whole community .... Only government can grant "Magna Chartas" to deprived Americans, to enable them to organize and cooperate on a national scale ... (Progressives) look to government, specifically to a properly led federal government, to resolve the crises of modern life, to provide for equality, and to maintain progress, the wealth, and the power of America.[18]

In the first years of the century Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson symbolized this new vision of American life. Their administrations witnessed active moves in support of the progressive imperative. It was under President Franklin Roosevelt that the progressive outlook revolutionized how government functioned and to what "good works" it might be harnessed to for the good of all. It was under his administration that a new kind of federalism was inaugurated, resulting in sweeping changes in how the government operates and in what areas its great force can be brought to bear. The center of activity and attention was centered in the office of the President. The legacy of the "New Deal" became the cornerstone of President Kennedy's "New Frontier and President Johnson's "Great Society". The significance of the continuity of the progressive spirit in the 1960's, under Kennedy and Johnson was that it was expanded to include America's racial and ethno-linguistic minorities, i.e. the so-called

"Third World" minorities of the Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Americans (presumably Pacific Islanders were included somewhere under the amorphous label of "other" with numerous other minorities).

An appreciation of the development of what has been described as the "Federal Largess," whereby the vast resources of government are utilized to address the socio-economic problems of society, is a necessary prerequisite for understanding the subject of federal assistance and its relationship to Ethnic America. Starting with Roosevelt's New Deal, the federal government took upon itself a new image and function, which has continued until quite recently. Indeed, it has not been until now that many of the assumptions about government's role in society have come to be questioned. The basic thrust of "Reaganomics" is to challenge and overcome thinking which has supported the federal largess for the last half century.

If the early years of the century witnessed a new spirit of progressivism in politics, and the 1930's saw its revolutionizing of American government; then the early 1960's experienced the largest and most widespread application of its guidelines to the resolution of the country's most outstanding domestic problems of racism and poverty. In specific, it was under the label of the "Great Society" that the Johnson Administration developed a domestic program that was essentially an extension of the welfare programs of the 1930's. Yet, LBJ moved a step beyond FDR in his stress on "opportunities," rather than "handouts". His approach combined large doses of government fostered and controlled program directed at addressing a wide range of social, economic, and political tasks, commonly associated with twentieth century liberalism, and self-help doctrines in line with the ever present conservative underside of American society.[19]

During the 1960's a number of developments converged to make the expanding federal largess a major factor in reshaping life in Ethnic America. These

developments included: a) a dynamic and expanding economy, b) the heyday of the American Civil Rights movement, and c) the confluence of the government's attack on racism and poverty as underscored with a new commitment and sense of "can do".

In this period, the economy reached a highpoint of productivity that kept the government's numerous programs well funded and staffed. The economic boom resulted in the federal establishment appearing as a cornucopia that in turn offered unlimited funding as a panacea to solve America's domestic problems. This situation produced two key results, which in turn fueled the economic forward thrust. First, there was a high level of employment, which generated increased economic activity. Secondly, there emerged a higher degree of affluence distributed over a wider spectrum of society. This in turn highlighted existing poverty.

It was during the Kennedy-Johnson years that the Civil Rights movement, spearheaded by the Blacks, brought about a radical change in the status and welfare of America's racial and ethno-linguistic minorities. The new image and response to this segment of the society was only part of this major development. During this time, a new self-image of confidence emerged among Third World ethnics. Externally, minority groups obtained major political and legal victories, as a result of hard won battles. Internally, there emerged a new articulation and activism among Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Americans.

Concurrent with Civil Rights struggles, there was a "War on Poverty". Both of these challenges converged in their common demand for leadership that possessed experience and expertise. The result was the emergence of a group of leaders in government and in the ethnic community which bore the label of the "Best and the Brightest" of their generation.[20] The former were committed to

using the vast resources of the federal government to address outstanding socio-economic problems in society. The latter were equally determined to make sure that the federal largess did not miss Ethnic America, and that ultimately racial and ethno-linguistic minorities would have an equal share in economic prosperity, as well as having attained basic civil rights.

The subject of the federal largess, whereby the vast resources of the national government are thrown against a multitude of domestic problems, is not merely one in which leaders in government and leaders in the ethnic community have to develop positive functional working relationships. Were it a simple matter of developing the mechanics necessary to support the outflow of federal assistance and the inflow of benefits to the ethnic community, then current problems among APA groups would not be as complex or as serious as they are. This is not to suggest that the necessary linkages between those in government and those who advocate for the ethnic community are without problems. It is, however, a situation in which the high expectations of benefits from the federal largess have generated tensions and problems among segments of the ethnic community. This is evident in the inter-ethnic relationship between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

4:2 Economic Benefits and Political Struggles

The existence of a vast and formidable apparatus to distribute the federal largess offers a constant challenge to those who seek to obtain behefits from it. This situation not only impacts the well being of APA groups, but also influences the state of their relationship with each other. If there are real tangible benefits to be gained, there are also unavoidable problems involved in such a task.

There is a quantum leap between actual receipt of economic benefits from the federal largess, and the difficult movement through the political obstacle

course that precedes it. These factors are closely related and intertwined. They spring from a complex and lengthy process which starts with policy formulation, moves on to program administration, and results in the all important matter of funding allocation. Prospects for gaining real economic benefits must always be weighed against the ability of any one group to withstand the rigors of political struggle. This involves expertise in articulating interests and needs, and the determination to press them home in the face of opposition from many quarters. Given the finite amount of dwindling resources available and the infinite number of demands made upon them, there is the inevitable result of competition. This development in turn stimulates an intensification of political rivalry. Fundamentally, it boils down to a question of which group better understands the rules of the game and is better able to maneuver between bureaucratic red-tape on one hand and political struggle on the other.

4:2a Economic Benefits

The subject of federal assistance is a complex one involving a wide number of diverse elements, some of which include: the changing nature of federalism in this country, individual rights versus public needs, a massive volume of statistical data, intense competition of lobbying agents reflecting contradictory ideologies and goals, tangled relationships between the private and public sectors of the economy, and the many intricacies of changing monetary and legal guidelines.[21] The present discussion of federal assistance is meant only as a brief overview of the immediate context in which federal assistance takes place. In specific, attention is centered on the two key matters of the kinds of assistance given and how they are made available to claimants, i.e. APA minority groups. An assessment of these aspects of federal assistance will provide a basis for better understanding the relationship between the role of federal

assistance and the current dilemma of APA inter-ethnic relations, as the former underscores the weaknesses and/or failures of the latter.

In general federal assistance in this country has three integral aspects. First there are public policies which chart priorities and define areas for government involvement. The protection of racial and ethnic minorities' civil rights is an example of this aspect of federal assistance. In this area morality, politics, and the law work together to establish the broad framework of federal assistance. Secondly, there are numerous public programs designed to implement the broad imperatives of policy. This aspect of federal assistance is administrative in nature. It is chiefly concerned with the development and utilization of procedural arrangements that translate policy into accomplished goals. Finally, there is federal funding. This aspect of federal assistance, while only the "tip of the iceberg" is viewed by many as the most important component of federal assistance. It can be seen that policy and program give direction and shape to federal assistance; defining what problems and needs will be addressed and how this will be accomplished. Federal funding is the actual tool by which these herculean tasks are met. Federal funding is the primary, but not the exclusive element of economic benefits from the federal largess. Because of its immense importance and dominant role in federal assistance, the current review of economic benefits will concentrate on federal funding. It may be understood that within the context of this study that federal funding and economic benefits are synonymous. It must be remembered, however, that other factores are involved in the area of economic benefits. Indeed, public programs in themselves may be regarded as economic benefits, independent of their funding functions. The former Comprehensive Employment Training Program (CETA) not only offered indirect financial rewards, but also provided employment training. Both items may be termed economic benefits of federal assistance.

While APA groups, and other ethnic minority groups, may envision the primacy of federal assistance as a panacea for resolving a wide range of needs and problems, it is not a simple matter of asking for and receiving funding. The federal largess is characterized by a diversity of the kinds of funding packages available; and complexity in the way they are managed.

Economic benefits, in the form of federal funding, are almost always encased within established programs. These in turn are functional areas of operations of various agencies of the federal government, usually those of the executive branch. In this light a number of facts can be observed. First, there is the established pattern in which minority groups have to organize their advocacy within a framework that is compatible with the criteria of the government. In other words, various areas of concern have to be divided up. A single APA group may have to approach several agencies and programs in order to seek funding for its many needs. Bilingual education funding would have to be handled by the Department of Education; a job training proposal by the Department of Labor; a residential clinic for drug abusers by the Department of Health and Human Services, and funding for community development by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. If consideration is taken of the specific nature of the project, then these broad general categories would have to be broken down to smaller ones, which in turn would come under the jurisdiction of various infrastructures of the agencies listed. Once the proper agency and program is approached, then the specific need or problem must be packaged to meet rigorous guidelines of a given funding program.

Funding programs are the Hydra of federal funding. In the classic stereotyped view of dealing with the bureaucratic red-tape of government, it is most often the situation that by the time APA leaders arrive at the right agency, the right program, the right office—they find that everyone else is already in line

with well prepared and completed proposal applications in hand. In contrast, the recently arrived applicant is given detailed, but still enigmatic directions and a stack of forms to fill in, with the warning that the deadline for filing of applications is in an hour.

Federal funding is difficult to tap because, while it claims to be at the service of the people it actually is an elaborate scenario of intergovernmental fiscal relations.

In the process of seeking federal funding, APA applicants set into motion a chain reaction of intergovernmental fiscal transfers and program movements of expansion and/or contraction. It is never a matter where a group applies for funds and then proceeds to do whatever they wish with them. Funding from the government makes heavy demands on the prospective claimant, via restrictions, compliance regulations, and a wide range of fiscal and legal obligations. It is for this reason the term "economic benefits" is used instead of federal funding. The former more closely mirros what in fact recipients are able to obtain, whereas the latter is a bureaucratic term for fiscal transfers from one part of the government to another, in the performance of a specified function or activity. Given this reality of federal assistance, we can begin to understand how much work is involved in seeking economic benefits from the federal largess. Obviously, a great deal of expertise and experience is of great advantage. Those APA groups that lack such assets cannot hope to compete successfully for available economic benefits.

In researching this part of the study, it was quickly apparent that even specialists in government research were unfamiliar with the broad scope of federal assistance, much less the complexities of federal funding subsumed under it. Indeed, few organizations or groups in our society have an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the full spectrum of federal funding. How much

more so among various racial and ethno-linguistic minority groups? It seems clear that the very heart of the problem of seeking out economic benefits from the federal largess is the ongoing task of becoming thoroughly familiar with the complex categories in which funding is divided, as well as experienced in working in the application-proposal process.

As a means of indicating the complexity of the task at hand, the remainder of this section offers an overview of federal funding, with attention to the kinds of funding categories and how they are managed.

Economic benefits, in the form of federal fundding, derive from two principal sources. These include: a) direct allocation to the recipient from a federally funded and federally managed activity or program; b) indirect allocation of funding through fiscal transfers to local or state jurisdictions, with varying degrees of federal control or monitoring.

The general activities of the various agencies of the federal government are by their nature designed to serve the entire population, with some emphasis on certain segments, i.e. the handicapped, children, or the elderly. Provisions have been established to ensure that there be no discrimination by "race, creed, national origin," as well as by "sex, age," and other possible categories. By and large, the large spectrum of federal activities and programs, funded and managed directly by the federal government are not by their nature specific for the special needs of APA groups. This is not always the case for other minority groups. The case of programs in the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs is an example, where it is claimed that the government is addressing the special needs of the American Indian--in addition to offering general services and benefits through other regular programs and activities. It might be said that such agencies as those that deal with the Pacific Trust Territories are in a position to help some segments of the Pacific Islander

population. We must remember, however that such programs are designed to help such Pacific Islanders when they are in their Pacific Island setting, and not when they are ethnic minorities in America. Thus, programs to help the 25,000 Samoans still living in American Samoa are of little help to the 90,000 Samoans that live in Southern California, notwithstanding the claim that such funding does not really help the Samoans in Samoa.[22]

Any APA group that seeks to obtain direct federal assistance from an arm of the federal establishment must compete on a par with scores of other claimants. This should not be interpreted that this is neither common nor feasible, because such is not the case. It needs to be remembered that under this category, no special attention is given to helping any minority group over the rest of the general population. Anti-discrimination guidelines aside, there are no provisions for the allocation of funding to any one racial or ethno-linguistic minority. In interviewing a number of social service providers in the local area of Seattle, it was made clear that not only are there no guidelines for allocation of federal funding to specific segments of the general population on the basis of race, national origin, or ethno-linguistic status, such a move would be in violation of existing laws against discrimination. Additionally, data on what share of such funding are provided to a given racial or ethno-linguistic minority are impossible to obtain. One can only surmise rough percentage estimates, which are far from accurate.

The second cateory of indirect allocation of federal funding, via an indirect means to local and state jurisdictions, is more flexible in regards to servicing the specific needs of a given group or segment of society, including racial and ethnic minorities. It is in the nature of this funding category that the abstractions of general policy are refined and focused on the specifics of existing needs and claimed problems. Much of the bulk of economic benefits to

APA communities come from this category of federal funding, which is to say that most of the economic benefits from the federal largess are obtained indirectly through state and/or local agencies and programs.

In order to appreciate the magnitude of the complexity and diversity of funding activities in this category that face APA claimants, the following brief outline is offered. Again, any effort to analyze in detail the nature and function of these activities lies beyond the purpose of this study. There is no available data on the exact percentage of funding received by APA groups in either category, underscoring further the need for a study of federal funding among APA groups in this country. Given the nature of the funding programs and their manner of administration, it seems apparent that the majority of such assistance comes from funding that arrives via indirect channeling. In the case of the APA groups, this is a reflection of the intersection of demography and geography. It is obvious that in those jurisdictions where Asian American and Pacific Islanders are in larger concentrations, they are better able to advocate their needs and interests. Accordingly, they are in a position to seek appropriate federal based, but locally administered funding. This seems to be confirmed by comparing the funding levels and kinds of projects/programs supported for a given ethno-linguistic minority group, as matched against such a group's geographical location and degree of concentration of numbers. In this light, developments in Hawaii and portions of the Pacific coast, the Midwest, and East coast favor segments of the APA population. In having mentioned these general points, the specifics of funding in this second category of indirect federal funding via local and state jurisdictions is outlined.

The mainstay of federal funding in this category is the transfer of funds to other levels of government for allocation and disbursement. It can be observed that as the funding program becomes more specific, in support of the

broad objectives of policy, they tend to become more complex and subject to bureaucratic manipulation. This stems in part from the inertia of governmental management practices, which revolve around concerns over the responsibilities for "stewardship" of the taxpayer's money. It is also in part related to the many problems associated with intergovernmental relations, of which "fiscal federalism" is only one of many aspects.[23]

The economic benefits offered by the federal largess, indirectly through local and state government, are among the most numerous and specific for dealing with minority needs and interests. This can be easily observed in reviewing the sub-categories of funding and how they are managed. These types of funding may be divided into three general sub-groups, which include: a) categorical grants, b) broad-based (block-grants) grants, and c) revenue sharing.

Categorical grants are among the most specific orientated; and are therefore also among the most closely managed funding programs by the federal government.

> These grants require that there be a clearly defined ppopulation of eligible recipients with demonstrable needs, and that there be objective measures of those needs to serve as factors in the allocation formulas.[24]

Under the label of "Categorical Grants," there are several sub-categories, which include: formula based grants, alloted formula, project grants subject to formula distribution, open-ended reimbursement, and project grants.[25] Starting with formula-based grants and working down to project grants, there appears to be a shift from strict criteria, as noted above, to less strict guidelines. Such factors as the nature of the funding request, the target population, the role of local/state jurisdiction, degree of cost-sharing by local/state government, promise of success versus factor of need, monitoring and evaluation logistics act as determinants of varying strength in different cases along the way.

In recent years, there has been the repeated call for increased responsibility and care in handling public monies. This has often meant consolidation, as a means of increased efficiency and economy of governmental programs. In the area of federal assistance, specifically in federal funding, consolidation of categorical grants has been a strong concern. As a result of this, there has emerged what are described as broad-based grants, or more commonly referred to as "block-grants". This was first advocated as early as 1966, but was not done until 1973. At that time, seventeen categorical grants were converted into a block-grant format, commonly known as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Program (CETA).[26] This was followed by the consolidation of six other programs into urban aid block-grants; and social service grants were turned into a block grant by title XX of the Social Security Act, both of these developments happened in 1974.

> ... despite their generic diversity and lack of clear definition as a specific type of fiscal instrument, block grants have provided a useful (alternative to) Washington-directed, restricted, and controlled assistance offered through categorical grants ...[27]

Community development block-grants and other block-grants have become much sought after economic benefitrs for the ethnic community. While the federal government offers funding, it also permits increased, but monitored, discretion among local and state officials regarding how such federal funds are actually allocated. There is less emphasis on how the actual funds are spent and more on who gets them. Conversely, if block-grants offer a more flexible opportunity for APA groups, it also requires a greater effort to advocate among local officials, who are more vulnerable to assorted pressures of competing claimants on the local scene.

The last category of indirect federal funding, which offers economic benefits from the federal largess, is that of revenue-sharing. This approach to

inter-governmental fiscal transfers was initiated in 1972. As a means of explaining what this kind of funding is and how it is managed, a comparison can be made with categorical grants and block-grants.

> ... grant allocation formulas and procedures will continuue to be the subject of much pushing and hauling each time they come under ... surveillance ... they determine who gets the money ... (and) how the money is spent ... both questions apply with approximately equal weight to block-grants ... evidence of that program's intermediate position between categorical grants (focusing on how money is spent) and revenue sharing (which concentrates on who gets it).[28]

Funding in this category may have less federally imposed requirements, but they possess in abundance a bewildering array of local and state requirements, as well as those complex factors associated with any effort to provide for intergovernmental fiscal transfers. Among the many considerations that influence the pace and distribution of funding in revenue-sharing, the following figure prominently: varied distribution formulas, the need to balance the criterion of fiscal need and capacity, the basic tax or revenue effort of the recipient disbursing agent, the current state of local and state fiscal relations, federally mandated statutory floors and ceilings on funding levels for a given fiscal year in a given locale, and finally the specific demographic profile of a given locality, which include density, distribution, needs, and particular characteristics.[29] It must also be remembered that the receipt, allocation, and actual distribution of revenue-sharing funds at the state and local levels are subject to greater political pressures.

In the development of revenue-sharing as a new concept in inter-governmental fiscal transfers, Washington has demonstrated an inability to prevent political considerations from taking precedence over economic ones. An example in point was the defeat of an initial plan to limit revenue sharing to a select number of about five hundred localities, which contained two-thirds of the country's population. The final plan provided funding in this category to all

general-purpose local jurisdictions, numbering nearly thirty-nine thousand.[30] State and local government seem equally susceptible to political pressures in the management of this kind of funding. Indeed, it can be observed that as funding travels down the immense and complex channels of the federal largess and comes nearer to the actual distribution point, there is a ratio of increased political tension. Political considerations become more intense and complicated as scores of claimants struggle to obtain a share in the actual funding that filters through the system. As in the case of block-grants, city hall and the state house become scenes of intense wrangling among a diverse lot of claimants.

4:2b Political Struggle

As observed at the outset of this particular paper, the birth of ethnic solidarity among Asian Americans, and then among Pacific islanders, has taken place amid intense political rivalry. It is not too much to say that the APA movement itself is a politicalization of the ethnic community. If we accept the premise that configurations involving alliances, or varying degrees of cooperation among different ethnic groups, reflect apriori political goals, then it is easy to see that such factors remain primary determinants influencing the decision-making process, and more generally problem-solving activities in both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships.

The economic benefits of federal assistance form a contradiction in the area of the "means and ends" of the cause of APA advancement. Such benefits in themselves exist as a means of seeking the material welfare and enhanced well-being of members of the APA community. It cannot be denied that with the possibility of infusing Asian American and Pacific Islander communities with various kinds of economic benefits that the positive goals of these communities may be realized. On the other hand, economic benefits from the federal largess also serve as "ends" in themselves, when placed into a political context. In order

to obtain federal assistance, ethnic groups not only have to successfully travel a rough and demanding obstacle course of bureaucratic red-tape; but also have to become very agile and expert tacticians in a multi-dimensional arena of political struggle. It is often a case where the difficulties associated with trying to obtain federal assistance pale beside the trials of the political tensions that invariably underscore such activities.

The significance of this element of political tension is that it has the contradictory ability to strengthen and weaken the efforts of any one group, as it actively pursues a given agenda, which almost always includes seeking greater economic benefits. APA groups must face political struggle on three levels, often concurrently.

When we talk about political struggle, we are in fact discussing a fairly wide range of actions which relate to political activity in general. The key theme underscoring the commonality of such activity is adversary advocacy. It is a situation in which a group, organization, or segment within the ethnic community is compelled to actively promote its needs and interests by articulating them in the most effective manner possible, while at the same time battling with alternative points of view. It is in the nature of this situation whereby advocacy of one point of view, on behalf of a given constituency, inevitably results in an acute adversary relationship with other active agents in the same field of advocacy. The seriousness and complexity of this general situation is that it takes place almost constantly, and concurrently on different levels with different parties. Key components of this process of political struggle include: a) intra-ethnic contention, b) inter-ethnic competition, and c) extra-ethnic conflict. As such groups as Asian/Pacific Americans seek out economic benefits from federal assistance, political struggle in these three areas is intensified. They provide a real test of not only the abilities of APA groups

to advocate needs and solve problems, but also of the inter-ethnic relaitonship that binds them together.

Within the context of this paper, the term "intra-ethnic" refers to those situations and/or developments which relate specifically to the needs and interests of a particular ethnic group, as it is in turn a functional unit of a larger ethnic or racial classification. In turn, "intra-ethnic political struggle," suggests political rivalry within such a group. An example of this kind of a situation would be the Korean American group, as a component part of the Asian/Pacific American configuration. Rivalry between those members of the Korean American community that support the current regime in South Korea and those who oppose it, is an example of intra-ethnic political struggle. Within the large and diverse Asian/Pacific American group, it is easily observable that similar conditions prevail. Indeed, among the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Asian Indian, Veitnamese, Lao Hmong, Cambodian, Hawaiian, Samoan, Chamorro, Tongan, and other less well known APA sub-ethnic units, intra-ethnic political struggle is a well established feature of community life in the United States.

The unique characterstic of intra-ethnic contention is that it takes place against the background of a strongly forged commonality of history, language and culture. More specifically, indicators of ethnicity, dialect, or immigrant/-ethnic experience act as a centripetal force drawing members of a given ethnic or sub-ethnic group together. In contrast, intra-ethnic contention is a centrifugal force which counterbalances this situation. Together, commonalities of cultural heritage, ethnic identity, and historical experience; and the cutting edge of intra-ethnic rivalry provide a tension to community life.[31] This balance of opposing forces is impacted by the effort to seek out changes, which may include increased economic benefits. Such benefits raise many questions

that must result in a consensus, regarding a myriad of facts and figures, if such a group is to effectively advocate its point of view beyond the confines of its own communal setting. In essence, the requriement of a consensus increases the centrifugal pull of intra-ethnic contention. In the process the common ties of culture, language and history are strained. Examples of this include: a) opposing groups in the Filipino American community with different views on how to develop a proposal for a community block-grant; the schism between the established Say-Yup Chinese immigrant group and the newer Indochinese ethnic Chinese, regarding the direction of community development or the utilization of social service delivery systems; or division among Samoan leaders regarding the advisability of continued reliance upon surrogate advocates to help promote the Samoan perspective outside the Samoan community, i.e. non Samoan spokesmen.

Within the context of this paper, the term "inter-ethnic," refers to the various sub-ethnic units within a well defined and popularly accepted racial or ethnic minority grouping, e.g. Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, or Asian/-Pacific Americans. In turn, the term "inter-ethnic political struggle," relates to the political rivalry that exists between and among such sub-ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic political struggle exists naturally as part of the normal characteristics of ethnic community life. Given the diversity of history and culture among the Asian/Pacific American groups, such struggles are rooted to a well established tradition. In the case of the Asian/Pacific American group there are a number of well defined cases of mutual mistrust and even historical hostility. The Korean and Japanese, the Chinese and the Japanese, the Filipino and the Chinese, the Samoan and the Hawaiian, and the Vietnamese and Cambodian relationships have been punctuated with political rivalry and conflicts in Asia and the Pacific, prior to their appearance in America. In this light, inter-ethnic competition, such as in the area of obtaining economic benefits from the

federal largess, can be seen as a centrifugal force working against the centripetal pull of ethnic solidarity. In a similar situation with intra-ethnic contention, inter-ethnic competition is very much affected by the task of seeking economic benefits from elsewhere beyond the larger ethnic community. It is easy to see that the banner of ethnic solidarity, such as that of Asian/Pacific American relations, is even less effective for inter-ethnic relations, than are commonalities of history, language and culture for intra-ethnic relations. The latter points are intrinsic and relate to the inner essence of ethnic experience in this country. In the case of the former, there only exist the superficial and simplistic approximations of geo-historical references and secondary socio-cultural affinities. Ethnic solidarity binds inter-ethnic relations because of its political force. Yet, precisely because this bonding agent is political in nature, it is more vulnerable to the counter-productive tensions of political struggle. This in turn, has the effect of politicizing the competion for economic benefits, which federal assistance can provide.

Within the framework of this study, "extra-ethnic" refers to the state of relations between major well defined racial and ethnic minority groups. Traditionally, this aspect of race relations in America has centered almost exclusively on White-Black relations of the last several decades. While it is true that the tensions between Whites and Blacks have dominated the subject of race relations in this country, it is also a fact that there are other significant dimensions of the subject that do not stem from or relate to the "White-Colored" bifuraction of American society. This development has helped obscure other dimensions of extra-ethnic relations, and in turn extra-ethnic political struggle in our society.

Given the traditional insensitivity of American society to the specialized problems and needs of Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian/Pacific

Americans, and the distinctiveness of their respective historical experiences, it can hardly be surprising that the larger society is largely unaware and indifferent to the matter of conflict between these several groups. As is the case with both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships, there exists a great deal of variance in the kinds of conflicts and the degree of their severity in the relations between these several groups. Much of the problem is similar to that of inter-ethnic relations among the many sub-ethnic members of the APA configuration. In this case, the bonding abilities of the theme of ethnic solidarity are even less secure because the political alliances are more fragile. In this situation, we are dealing with larger and more diverse ethnic categories. If we say that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders; Chicanos and Puerto Ricans; American Blacks and Haitian Blacks; or American Indians of the continental U.S. and the Aleuts of Alaska all represent a variety of experiences and points of view that are not always easily nor comfortably reconciled, then how much more so in the case of such different groups as the Asians and Blacks, or the Hispanics and Pacific Islanders? It is clear that of all the kinds of ethnic relationships that exist between and among different ethnic categories and groups, the one involving extra-ethnic political struggles among "Third World" groups is the least mentioned, but among the most serious and dangerous.

The importance of extra-ethnic conflict can be better explained by making reference to the strained relations that exist between segments of the Black and Asian American ethnic communities. It is one that few individuals or groups outside the ethnic community are aware of, much less concerned about. Some Black advocates at the University of Washington (Seattle), in Congress, and elsewhere in American society have in recent years called for the deletion of Asian Americans from the generally accepted list of disadvantaged racial/ethnic minorities in this country. The claim has been made that the inclusion of Asian

Americans within this larger configuration runs counter to the needs of the group, especially those of the Blacks. The basis for this claim is the observation that Asian Americans demonstrate remarkably high levels of achievement in years of education attained and income levels per capita.[32] The fear is that the particular achievements of the Asian American group will falsely elevate the figures for the whole group, which results in a misleading profile of the real achievement levels of Ethnics in America today. This is obviously a serious development, given the continuing serious plight of Blacks, American Indians, and some Hispanics.

The Asian American response to such claims are equally valid, in that they too focus on fundamental concerns over the well being of the disadvantaged among their own ranks. There is the observation that for every Asian American with a Ph.D., on practicing medicine/law, there are scores that find it difficult to profit from our public education system, due to language problems. If there are affluent Asian Americans, there are greater numbers of the poor. Is it right to deprive a whole segment of society of its legitimate rights to assistance, merely because some of its members are high achievers in education and per capita income levels? Is this not a case where ethnics are guilty of the same kind of stereotyping and prejudice that they attack in American society? Equally important, it is a question of whether or not we should reward positive achievements with punitive decisions. It can be seen that such a move would be easily misunderstood as a barrier to other ethnic groups, in their efforts to overcome poverty and ignorance.[33]

In conclusion, it can be seen that there are in fact many aspects of political struggle between and among various ethnic groups and categories in this country. The possibility of outside assistance, as a kind of functional intervention, raises as many problems as it seeks to resolve. In particular, the

federal largess in providing federal funding offers many potential economic benefits to the Asian/Pacific American communities. Yet, as it does it makes any number of demands, and results in the intensification of pre-existing problems. In this light, the role of federal assistance in the dilemma of APA inter-ethnic relations takes on a greater significance and meaning.

4:3 Federal Assistance and the Dilemma of APA Inter-Ethnic Relations

Federal assistance, beyond providing much needed material assistance to the ethnic community, plays a very important role in helping us to better understand the complex and grave dilemma now affecting Asian American and Pacific Islander inter-ethnic relations. It performs this difficult task by highlighting where and how that relationship fails to live up to earlier expectations. In essence, federal assistance offers a broad framework of analysis in which it is possible to observe and judge the variables at work compromising the APA concept, and undermining in turn the inter-ethnic relationship that it espouses. The whole enterprise of federal assistance embraces a wide spectrum of activities that are undertaken to improve upon advocacy skills, and more generally increase problem-solving strategies among APA community leaders and advocates. Federal assistance, in its role as a much sought after goal of APA activity, makes demands, provides opportunities, intensified pressures, and stimulates further competition and conflict within the ranks of the APA community.

With the advent of "Reganomics," there has emerged a new perception of the place of federal assistance in our society. Yet, even now many within the ethnic community, and in government, still view federal assistance as a kind of panacea to help redress the long standing problems of racial and ethno-linguistic minorities in this country. Notwithstanding recent changes in government, it can be seen that federal assistance has played a decisive role in influencing how APA leaders will approach the many tasks on their agendas. In specific, it

has helped shape how APA advocates approach ideological, organizational, procedural, and logistical aspects of minority advocacy before government and society.

Earlier in this paper, the subject of "abuse" was introduced as a means of conceptualizing in what way the APA inter-ethnic partnership is problematic. Such a framework has its use in organizing and defining the broad parameters of the problem at hand, but it remains unable to indicate in relatively simple and direct terms where and how the APA configuration fails in its self-proclaimed mission. As a means of developing a better grasp of the mechanics of abuse, the remainder of this part of the paper will demonstrate ways in which the federal assistance process lends itself to providing opportunities for abuse of the idea and relationship that represent APA interest. One should caution that although federal assistance may harbor within its folds elements of abuse, this should not be seen as any deliberate effort to utilize the apparatus of federal aid to undermine the ethnic position in this country. It is instead a situation where the very nature and function of the federal largess sets the stage for abuse among competing claimants.

When the federal government adopted the APA label for use in the classification of a segment of the population, it did so without proper study of the advisability of such a move. This act in itself should not be faulted, as such intentions were positive in nature. What is important here is that while the government adopted a new procedural arrangement in the categorization of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, as a helpful device for managing data; improving on bureaucratic in-house tasks, it did so with serious, if unforseen, consequences. What started out as an administrative decision regarding essentially data management goals has become in time accepted standards in other areas of government. There has evolved, through careless and indiscriminate use of the

label, an unrealistic and counterproductive situation in which ascribed characteristics and assumed similarities point to a relationship that plainly does not exist, nor is likely to develop in the future. In this light, it can be seen that the nature of the APA concept invites ambiguity, which in turn leaves the door open to abuses. The label has become on one hand a useful categorical device, and on the other, it is a sterile concept. This results from the careless use of the term, whereby it means different things to different parties. Indeed, even the terminology is open to speculation, regarding exact meaning. A sample might include: "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," Asian and Pacific American," or "Asian/Pacific American."

In the development of linkages between APA community advocates and existing public programs, there is always the question of how to relate the special needs one sub-unit within the broader APA rubric. In other words, the federally sponsored label does not embody a necessary degree of flexibility, so as to permit functional modifications. An example might be the development of alcohol and drug abuse programs tailored for both American Indian and Pacific Islander groups. Government bureaucrats being aware of American Indian and APA classifications will find it difficult to merge together two components parts of two other larger units of perception of ethnic minorities.

Given the imposition of the APA label and its uncritical use by all levels of government, there is the possibility of "telling them what they want to hear," instead of "telling them what they need to know." This kind of abuse arises from the unfortunate situation at the present where both Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders lack a prerequisite knowledge of each other's culture, history and particular needs. How then, is it possible for the two partners to develop integral and cohesive proposals? The result is an embrassing note of ignorance from those most concerned with such matters. If there is little or no

respect for each others history and culture, one must ask can there be any way to avoid abusing the situation, in which the specialized needs and interests of one segment are sacrificed in the interests of preserving a facade of unity and uniformity—in turn a gambit to succeed to obtaining economic benefits of federal assistance at almost any costs. This in turn leads to other kinds of abuses.

There is the situation whereby the comprehensive nature of the APA label is viewed by many as a justification for juxtaposing particular needs and interests against the generalized abstractions of a neutral categorial unit, i.e. Asian/-Pacific American. In rendering assistance, federal programs do not always make necessary distinctions. In the effort not to discriminate, there is discrimination. This discrimination is directed in favor of the larger rubric of the ethnic identification and association, and against the smaller more realistic and functional units. It is easier to direct assistance towards Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian/Pacific Americans; but it is costly, time consuming, and a lot more work to say that Lao and Vietnamese refugee needs are quite different, or to observe that Samoan and Hawaiian communities have serious problems in relating to common needs and problems in such a manner as to enable them to work smoothly together in Hawaii, and elsewhere. The APA label is too convenient in its neglect of particulars, as such abuse enters the picture. Federal assistance is given on the assumption that the degree of commonality outweighs the one of diversity and specifiicity.

The question of a lack of parity is in itself a serious abuse of the intended APA inter-ethnic relationship. As observed earlier, it chief danger is that it does not allow for any presentation of the Pacific Islander point of view. This in turn delimits advocacy efforts on behalf of the Pacific Islanders. The net result is that advocacy activities in the APA movement reflect an

inordinate attention to primarily Asian American needs and interests. Pacific Islander concerns, when presented, all too often appear as subordinaste or marginal to the ones pushed forth by the APA leadership. Again, it is a situation where the broader APA label is used to seek out economic and other kinds of benefits, which in turn are better suited to the needs of a given segment of the APA community. It is in the nature of the federal assistance process that ignorance or neglect of these matters is acceptable. The process is concerned with making sure that "laws of scarcity" intersect with those of "demand and supply." Concern centers on getting financial aid out to a defined target population, the specific breakdown of the needs and interests of sub-ethnic units is of little concern, at least among most people.

In the investigation of the matter of parity, it was not possible to discover how well Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans do in comparison with each other, as there is no established documentation offering such information. Yet, given the size and distribution of Asian American communities, and their concentration in selected areas, it is easy to see that a larger percentage of federal assistance goes to this segment of the APA population. An example might be bilingual education. In San Francisco, in the period 1977-78, the bulk of federal assistance to public education in the public school system that was made available to APA groups was overwhelmingly used for Asian American student needs, with precious little for Pacific Islander students. Although there are the mitigating factors of: a) a very large Asian American student population and a very small Pacific Islander population (with the former having several large sub-units, and the latter having primarily one or two such units); b) the initial start of diminishing levels of public funding available; and c) the relative newness of the Pacific Islander group as a competing element for public aid.[34]

Given the inability, or reluctance of federal assistance to become more aware of the finer distinctions between and among sub-ethnic groups which make up the APPA configuration, there is the hope that APA leaders would take responsibility for drawing such important matters to the attention of the government. This is not always the case, indeed seldom so. In the past, Asian Americans because of their large numbers, the greater experience and expertise of their leadership, and their positions of importance within the APA movement have either neglected to fulfill their responsibilities as self-apointed, in many cases, surrogate advocates for the Pacific Islanders, while at the same time willingly accept both credit and material benefits from such an ascribed job. In other words, Asian Americans, usually quite casually, are willing to adopt and use the APA label, participate in the APA partnership, and benefit from the APA movement; but, they are not so careful as to give credit where credit is due. This leads to abuse of the worst kind. One example is the not uncommon situation where an Asian American community based organization (e.g. social service provider, mental health clinic, childcare facility, or senior citizen center, etc.) submits a proposal to the appropriate government agency requesting funding in support of its defined mission. It is common for such proposals to make mention of serving the "Asian/Pacific American" community or target population. This reference, almost obligatory, because of the design of the forms used to apply for such assistance, makes abuse inevitable, although seldom intentional. In this manner financial assistance from the federal largess is obtained, under the guise of serving all APA groups. In some cases, there are explicit references to servicing the needs of "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders." In reality, there are no Pacific Islanders, or only a very few. The result is that the government sees itself as disbursing federal assistance to both groups, and is therefore absolved of any unfairness in the

allocation of federal assistance funding. The Asian Americans, quite unintentionally most of the time, reap increased material/economic benefits. The Pacific Islander in allowing his/her name too be used, nets very little, if anything. While the details of this situation require elaboration not possible here, it is nonetheless a situation where there exists unfair utilization of the APA label to advocate the special interest of one member of the APA relationship, to the disadvantage of the other. This is a serious abuse which the federal assistance process unavoidably encourages, although unintentionally.

It is a great irony that the federal assistance process, which was intended to benefit all claimants, more specifically APA minority groups, has in fact become a scene of manipulation and abuse. If the federal largess has the potential to provide a bounty of economic benefits to the APA population, it is offset by the highg costs of abuse. This factor of abuse results from the stimulation of competition and conflict among competing claimants. Again, it is not a matter of conscious efforts to harm any one group, i.e. Pacific Islanders, as it is the nature of prevailing conditions which encourage self-defense and preservation through an intense adversary advocacy process.

Given the evidence of a malfunctioning and inadequate working relationship between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, it is not hard to see why there are instances of competition and conflict. It is also clear that under such conditions, abuses of many kinds are more common. Ultimately, whether such abuses are small or large, intentional or accidental, procedural or substantive, makes little difference. The result is the same. In looking more carefully at this subject with a critical eye for both the historical background and the contemporary situation, it has become quite clear that there is in fact a very real

dilemma of great significance in the area of inter-ethnic relations between Asian Americans. It is in developing a willingness and ability to become aware of this situation that perhaps some kind of resolution is possible.

The difficulty in moving towards resolution of this issue is that it is an exceedingly complex one. In addition to reflecting both concentual and mechanical problems, it is, again, a problem that is essentially political in nature. In this light, it is inappropriate to advance any conclusions beyond supporting the claim that the current APA concept is weak, and the APA relationship suffers from abuse and malfunction.

5) Project Recommendations

In light of the data gathered and reviewed by members of this research project, it is clear that the existing inter-ethnic partnership between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders is not as fruitful today as it might have been initially. This relationship is characterized as being abused, as it has evolved over a period of the last several years. The result is that it is inadequate to the tasks to which it has been assigned; and does not function as an effective vehicle for servicing APA group needs, or the specialized interest of its sub-ethnic units. Clearly, there exists a need for some mid-course adjustments, or even some radical changes. The present report accordingly makes some recommendations that are viewed as potentialy useful in moving to resolve this issue.

5:1 The Abolition of the "Asian/Pacific American" Label

The current discussion about the inadequacy and malfunction of the APA relationship underscores the need to consider seriously the usefulness of continuing with current Asian/Pacific American label. In light of the recommended inaugration of a new "Ethnic Federalism", the current label seems inappropriate,

as it has been inoperative in supporting a functional partnership between the two groups. It is recommended that the following be considered: a) All current national APA advocacy and professional organizations drop the APA label. Instead, labels and names reflecting precise membership, activities, and goals should be developed. The older, antecedent terms should be revised and applied. These are "Asian American," for Asian American oriented organizations; and "Pacific American" for Pacific Islander orientated organizations. b) It is strongly recommended that the federal government take the lead in dropping the use of the "Asian/Pacific American" label/concept. As observed in this paper, the position of the federal government on what labels to apply, in reference to national ethnic and racial minority categories, has been decisive in shaping how other levels of government (e.g. local and state) and society in general visualize such matters. More importantly, the federal government, because of the size of its operations, has in the past established models which others throughout society have followed. If the federal government was instrumental in having the APA label becoming a nationally recognized item, then it could just as well help reverse the process. Again, it is suggested that the antecedent terms, "Asian

5:2 Promotion of a New "Ethnic Federalism" among APA Groups

Clearly it is in the best interests of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders to re-shape and redefine their relationship, based less on assumed similarities betweeen the two groups and the continuity of their experiences: and more on their mutual interests and needs. To say that there exists a problem of communication, of working together, or one of a lack of parity is not the same as saying that the relationship is completely without merit or use. It seems appropriate to follow the lead of many in government and develop a federal approach to APA inter-ethnic relations, e.g. "Ethnic Federalism".

Clearly, there are points where Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders do have mutual needs and interests. In such situations, the old claims of ethnic solarity are not without value. Within this suggested framework for APA relations, pragmatic considerations concerning real goals and commitments can begin to replace unrealistic expectations and the illusions of an ascribed relationship. An active working relationship might be possible, whereby the two groups can start from positions of mutual respect and move on to a productive cooperation. In this manner, the groups can work together where their mutual needs and interest suggest that such cooperation will be useful. In other instances, it would be more appropriate for the two groups to go their separate ways. In this way the vital element of autonomy is provided for, without sacrificing a necessary degree of interdependence that has been helpful in the past.

Americans" and Pacific Americans" be utilized.

5:3 <u>The Formation of A Nationally Organized Coalition of Asian Americans and Pacific Americans To Provide for Improved Communications and Networking in Support of Mutual Advocacy Interests</u>

It is recommended that leaders of the Asian American community and the Pacific Islander community gather together on the national level to form a coalition. This flexible union should be developed under the spirit of the new ethnic federalism, as mentioned above. A new national organization should be formed for the following purposes: a) offer a concrete expression of the new ethnic federalism for both the Asian American and Pacific American communities, and also for the benefit of American society and government; b) offer an ongoing structured context in which Asian Americans and Pacific Americans can enter into a dialogue and work together when and where necessary; c) offer a mechanism for joint advocacy on a national scale before governmental agencies at the federal, state, and local level; d) offer concrete assistance to the government in ways

influence and responsibility gain the opportunity to study this issue more carefully. The series of studies in this report should serve as a basis for further discussion and planning for future changes.

5:6 Continued Research on Pacific Americans

From the start of research, it has been very clear to the members of the research team that there is a chronic and persistent lack of adequate documentation of the Pacific American population in this country. Much of the literature refers to the Pacific American within the context of the Pacific Island setting, rather than the more appropriate one of American society. There exists a need for several kinds of studies. These include: a) studies of the socio-economic problems of the Pacific Americans, as resident ethinic minorities; b) studies of specific Pacific American sub-ethnic groups, e.g. Tongans, Chamorros, Hawaiians, as well as continued study of the Samoans; c) new studies on alternatives for the future. In particular, potential working relationships with other ethnic/racial groups, such as "Native Americans." It may be that the historical experiences among Pacific Americans and Native Americans, or American Indians, can provide a better basis for a productive working relationship, than the present one with Asian Americans. Such research should be conducted by and for Pacific Americans.

to help resolve common problems and needs of Asian Americans and Pacific Americans.

5:4 A National Conference on the Future of Pacific Americans in American Society

Given the major role of Pacific Americans in calling attention to the dilemma of APA inter-ethnic relations, and the extreme vunerability of this group within the current APA configuration, it seems desirable and necessary to offer this group the opportunity to re-direct its course of development for the future. This group in considering exiting from the current APA arrangement will be assuming great risks. The move in this direction needs to have the benefit of expert analysis and planning. It also needs the full support of all Pacific Americans. Additionally, this support needs to be developed as a consensus.

A nationally organized conference will enable the Pacific American group to initiate necessary preliminary moves in developing a separate ideological and organizational identity. This in turn will help to convince leaders in government, society, and the ethnic community that this group has distinctive needs and interests, which arise from a unique historical experience and possess a unique cultural framework. Such a conference should involve Asian American leaders, but only as observers. Such individuals should be invited to share their experience and expertise in the rudiments of socio-political organizing and ethnic community advocacy.

5:5 Reproduction and Widespared Dissemination of This Research Project

If the dilemma of APA inter-ethnic relations is to be properly understood by leaders in both the Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, as well as leaders in government, academica, and society in general, then it is imperative that the information in this research project be made fully available to as large an audience as possible. Given the possibility that the present report might enlighten others, it is very important that persons in positions of

FOOTNOTES

1) Sucheng Chan, "Asian American-Pacific Islander Relations: The Asian American Perspuctive," in Asian American and Pacific Islander Relations: Three Studies (by the Association for Asian/Pacific American Studies) Sucheng Chan, Alexander Mamak, Pat Luce, and Douglas Lee, Seattle (1982) p. 3, (hereafter cited as AA/PI Studies).

2) Discussion and telephone interview with Franklin Odo, head of the Asian American Studies program, in American Studies at the Manoa Campus of the University of Hawaii, March 1982; discussions and meetings with Pacific American leaders at the 1981 national conference of the National Association for Asian American and Pacific Education (NAAAPE) in Honolulu, Hawaii, April 12-13, 1981.

3) Lawrence H. Fuchs, Hawaii Pono: A Social History, New York: 1961, see chapter II, "Pilikia and Aloha," p. 80.

4) Ibid., p. 85.

5) Alexander Mamak and Pat Luce, "Asian American-Pacific Islander Relations: The Pacific Islander Perspective," in AA/PI Studies, p. 12.

6) Discussions with Franklin Odo, and Jim Morishima, Professor of Education at the University of Washington, April-May, 1982.

7) Official literature of NAAAPE mentions that the origins of the organization date back to 1977, when a group of APA educators met at the International Bilingual Education Conference in New Orleans. At first there was the move to form a new national APA bilingual educational organization, but concerns over a wide range of problems in the educational field resulted in the formation of NAAAPE.

8) AAPAS, as a professional society for Asian American Studies originally came about in 1979 in Los Angeles, when a group of Asian American Studies professionals gathered at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies. Students, faculty, and other interested individuals from the Univer-

sity of Washington, Seattle; UCLA, UC Berkeley, and other institutions of higher education followed-up with organizing efforts. The organization was incorporated in 1982 in the State of Washington.

9) Asian American and Pacific Peoples: A Case of Mistaken Identity. A report by the California Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1975); also see working documents and various publications of federal agencies prior to 1978 and those after 1978 for indications of the transistion from "Asian American" to "Asian/Pacific American."

10) Counting the People in 1980, An Appraisal of Census Plans, prepared by the National Academy of Sciences, Panel on Decennial Census Plans, Committee on National Statistics, Washington, D.C.: 1978, pp. 69, 68.

11) Ibid., pp. 68-73.

12) Interview with Stephen Thom, Director of Asian/Pacific American Concerns Staff, U.S. Department of Education, April 13, 1982.

13) Civil Rights Issues of Asian and Pacific Americans: Myths and Realities, May 8-9, 1979, Washington, D.C., A Consultation Sponsered by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.: 1980.

14) See earlier portions of report on AA/PI Studies, Part I, pp. 41-43; Part II, pp. 22-24.

15) Discussions at the NAAAPE 1981 Conference in Honolulu, Hawaii, April 13, 1981. A direct result of these discussions was the move to gather additional data on the problem. Stephen Thom of the Asian/Pacific Concerns Staff of the U.S. Department of Education subsequently helped obtain funding for a formal research project, of which the present report is a result.

16) Comment by Ariu Tagoai, a Samoan Chief from San Francisco, during a special workshop on the Pacific Islander perspective of the dilemma of inter-ethnic relations with Asian Americans, held at the offices of the National Office of Samoan Affairs, Inc. in San Francisco, April 30, 1982.

17) James O. Robertson, American Myth, American Reality, New York: 1980, p. 296.

18) Ibid., p. 305.

19) Jim F. Heath, Decade of Disillusionment, The Kennedy-Johnson Years, Bloomington: 1975, p. 207.

20) David Halberston, The Best and the Brightest, New York: 1969, p. 44.

21) The following works touched upon various aspects of the subject of federal assistance in this country: Joseph A. Pechman (editor), Setting National Priorities, Agenda for the 1980's, Washington, D.C.: 1980, (A Brookings Institution Study); Allen Schick, Congress and Money, Budgeting, Spending and Taxing, Washington, D.C.: 1980 (An Urban Institute Study); Charles L. Schultze, The Politics and Economics of Public Spending, Washington, D.C.: 1968 (A Brookings Institution Study); Morris Beck, Government Spending, Trends and Issues, New York: 1981; also see an interesting work on the special problems and challenges of federal assistance from the perspective of the former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph A. Califano Jr., Governing America, An Insider's Report from the White House and the Cabinet, New York: 1981; also see Library of Congress Subject Headings, Vol. 1 Ninth Edition, Washington, D.C.: 1980, pp. 838-39, 40 categories of federal assistance, (adult education, alcoholism programs, biology, birth control, child development, child welfare, community development, community health services, dance, daycare centers, education, handicapped services, health facilities, health maintenance organizations, higher education, historic sites, hospitals, law enforcement agencies, libraries, medical education, medical libraries, minority business enterprises, museums, nursing education, outdoor recreation, private schools, public welfare, regional planning, research, the arts, motion picture industry, performing arts, theater, transportation, vocational education, water quality mangement, wood-lots, youth services, federal-areas-within-states, federal-city relations).

22) Pat Luce and Alexander Mamak, Samoan Americans in Employment and Training, San Francisco: 1979, p. 2.

23) For a good overview of fiscal federalism, see Raymond E. Wolfinger, Martin Shapiro, and Fred I Greenstein, Dynamics of American Politics, (second edidtion) Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1980, pp. 87-90.

24) George F. Break, "Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations," in National Priorities for the 1980's, p. 249.

25) Ibid., 252, Table 8.2 Number and Outlay of Federal Categorical Grants by Type, fiscal 1975.

26) Ibid., p. 257.

27) Ibid., p. 258.

28) Ibid., p. 261.

29) Ibid., pp. 261-276.

30) Ibid., p. 263; also see Kenneth Prewitt and Sidney Verba, An Introduction to American Government, (Third Edition), New York: 1979, pp. 543-544.

31) General observations about history, culture, and language as they are related to ethnic minority experience in America are related here in specific reference to Chinese American experience. Such observations could be easily expanded and applied to other Asian Americans. See Marjarie Chan and Douglas W. Lee, "Chinatown Chinese: A Linguistic and Historical Re-Evaluation," in Amerasia Journal 8:1 (1981), pp. 119-128.

32) See results of the 1980 U.S. Census.

33) Discussion of these matters took place among members of the Asian American Staff and Faculty Caucus of the University of Washington in 1980.

34) See Douglas W. Lee, "Pluralism and Public Policy in Public Education: The Case of San Francisco Unified School District and East Asian Immigrant Students," in Pluralism, Racism, and Public Policy, the Search for Equality, Edwin Clausen and Jack Bermingham (editors), Boston: 1981, pp. 152-169, see especially p. 166.